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AN INTRODUCTION
TO THE
Study of Social Problems

THIRD REVISED EDITION

Containing Added Sections on
England During the War and England After the War.

By
ARNOLD FREEMAN.

With Prefaces by

H. A. L. FISHER & ALBERT MANSBRIDGE.

*(President of the
Board of Education.)*

*(Late Secretary of the
Workers' Educational Association.)*

PRICE ONE SHILLING.

PUBLISHED BY
THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION,
16, HARPUR STREET, W.C.1.

UN-SECTARIAN: NON-PARTY. DEMOCRATIC

The Workers' Educational Association

Central Office:

16, Harpur Street, Holborn, London, W.C.

(Founded August, 1903),

Is a Federation of 2,709 Organisations. It has now
9 DISTRICT COUNCILS, 209 BRANCHES,
14,697 INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS.

It seeks to fulfil its objects in the following principal ways:—

- (a) *By arousing* the interest of the workers in Higher Education and by directing their attention to the facilities existing.
- (b) *By inquiring* into the needs and feelings of the workers regard to Education and by representing them to the Board of Education, Universities, Local Education Authorities, and Educational Institutions.
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TO THE

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England During the War and England after the War.

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(*Warden of the Y.M.C.A. Settlement, Sheffield*).

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The W.E.A. neither endorses nor repudiates the views expressed in this publication. Its policy is not to propagate any particular opinion, but to offer information and stimulate thought.

AUTHOR'S NOTE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

IT seems to be generally agreed that the mass of the people will use their political and industrial power with far greater energy after the War than before it. That appears to me to be a good thing; nevertheless, I have painful misgivings about the ways in which their power will be used. To be candid, my conviction, based upon thorough-going investigation,* is that a majority of the men, and a still greater majority of the women, have not yet developed the power to think independently or act sagaciously, either in industry or in politics. There is, in fact, imperative need for immense schemes of adult education to furnish those who have done with schooling something of the knowledge of public affairs and the power of thought which they ought to have gained during their childhood and adolescence. I submit that this is the fundamental problem upon the solution of which, the solution of every other problem of Reconstruction depends.

This pamphlet is a contribution to that education of the mass of the people, which the nation is now urgently called upon to undertake. It is intended for men and women in the early stages of their study of social problems. Originally it was a condensation of a course of lectures in Social Economics given during the winter before the War at the University of

* The nature of this inquiry is indicated upon page 85 in Part IV., dealing with "England After the War." Pages 85 to 89 expand the opening paragraph of the Preface, and to them I would urge the reader's special attention.

Sheffield. The material was put together in book form at the request of the students, and privately circulated. Just after the War broke out, the Workers' Educational Association republished it. This second issue being exhausted (largely among the men at the Front), I am ordered by the W.E.A. to make what revisions may be necessary for a third edition, in the light of the new social problems created by the War. There are, however, at least two reasons why I cannot bring the pamphlet up to date by modifying it item by item. The first is that I should have to abandon the prefaces written for the earlier editions by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher and Mr. Albert Mansbridge, which are much the best parts of the compilation. The second is that the student will get a far better idea of "England Before the War" by reading an account actually penned in the last months of peace, than he could from any account that could now be composed. The description given is not merely an array of facts, but a complex of attitudes and perspectives. By introducing numberless modifications, I could, no doubt, make the pamphlet more consistent with itself and with subsequent occurrences, but the student would not get the education from it that he will obtain by noting the myriad subtle ways in which our outlook on things has changed in these four years into which four hundred years of eventfulness have been crammed. At any rate, wisely or mistakenly, I leave as it was the whole of the original manuscript, correcting only a few odd errors that ought not to have appeared in the previous editions. To this part alone do the prefaces of Mr. Fisher and Mr. Mansbridge apply. The whole of the sections of the original pamphlet following the historical matter are in this issue re-named "England Before the War." By additional sections on "England During the War," and "England After the War," in which full advantage has been taken of the kindly criticisms of Mr. R. H. Tawney and Mr. A. E. Zimmern, I have endeavoured to bring the pamphlet up to date.

The earlier editions having been widely used in study circles, the third edition may be similarly serviceable, and the following hints upon the running of such circles may therefore be of use :—

A student-group may consist of no more than two or three students ; it should certainly not include more than twenty ; perhaps ten or twelve is an ideal number. All the equipment such a class requires is a room or open space in which to meet, a box full of relevant reading matter, a blackboard, and a leader. If the leader is not self-chosen, nor “ chosen from above,” he or she must be selected from among themselves by the students. It is essential that the leader should be someone who will hold the class together by being both businesslike and enthusiastic ; who will maintain free, good-tempered and relevant discussion ; and who can count upon the loyal acceptance of his (or her) decisions. The leader’s business is to get to know more than the other students about the subject—as much more as possible. This means a thorough study of the text-book as well as some collateral reading. Even though as little informed to begin with as the rest of the circle, a good leader can gain sufficient knowledge of the subject week by week to keep the intellectual mastery of the class.

The students ought to regard the class meeting as a supplement to private study, and not as a substitute for it. This means that each student must acquire the private ownership of an individual copy of the text-book. It should then be a point of honour with every member of the circle to prepare for the next meeting by reading the specific section of the text-book, by looking into other cognate literature, by paying special attention to the particular subjects about to be discussed and by jotting down points, queries and difficulties to raise in the discussion. The method adopted at an assemblage of the group may be that of introductory remarks by the leader, or a paper by one or other of the students, or a formal opening debate,

followed in every case by questioning and discussion. These are points to be decided by particular circumstances, but in every case the value of the meeting will depend upon the quality of the private preparation of the whole of the students.

ARNOLD FREEMAN.

The Y.M.C.A. Settlement,
Oxford Street, Sheffield.
September, 1918.

PREFACE.

(to the Original Edition).

By H. A. L. FISHER.

What can a University do for the working classes? We might as well ask what the moon can do for the working classes. The moon is prepared to do for workers what it is equally prepared to do for dukes, earls, and viscounts. It will light them on a dark night. Its brilliance is impartial and transcends all distinctions of class and wealth. Anybody can look at the moon; anybody can *not* look at it. The moon is exactly what we choose to make of it; either a disk of silver, or a force acting upon the tides, or a frozen and wandering graveyard, or an endless source of consoling poetic sentiment. An artist can make a good deal of the moon, an idiot can make nothing of it whatever.

A University has nothing to do with distinctions founded on money or opinion. It is neither capitalist nor proletarian, Liberal nor Conservative, Individualist nor Fabian. It wears no label, for labels are made to economise thought, and Universities are made to spend it. In a certain sense we may say that the principal function of Universities is the negative function of knocking nonsense out of people's heads and of filling the vacuum with orderly habits of intelligent curiosity about the things which really matter. It is never the business of a University to propagate an opinion; that is the function of missions and clubs, of churches and parties. A University exists for knowledge, and, as the Greek philosophers pointed out, knowledge is a very different thing from opinion. A University does not dictate opinion, but trains the mind to scrutinise its prejudices, to dispel its ignorance, and to ground its notions upon a basis of tested knowledge. It opens doors of hospitality to any honest exercise of human thought.

Most of the serious literature of knowledge which is read in the world to-day has only been rendered

possible by the existence of Universities. The worker who in his scant moments of leisure wishes to glean fragments of information about the stars in the heavens, or the fossils in the rocks, or the fish in the sea, must draw upon funds of knowledge and enquiry accumulated by the labour of students trained in Universities. Indeed, but for the fact that human society has wisely set apart a certain portion of its wealth to hire men to engage upon the great business of learning, thinking, and teaching, how little should we know! The small text-book read on the tram or in the class-room of an elementary school, feeds upon the large text-book, and this in turn is derived from the manifold researches of active minds schooled, if not endowed, by Universities.

It is, then, through books that the Universities help the working man. But this help can only be given on the condition that the University does not debase its intellectual currency. In a material world increasingly governed by the vulgar notion of quantity, the University stands out not for quantity but for quality. Its primary business is to give the best obtainable training to men who are qualified to receive it. And in doing this the University exercises an influence which runs through the whole "web and warp" of society, acting upon the secondary school, which in turn acts upon the primary school, so that every part of the scholastic fabric is strengthened and improved.

And to those who question whether this double influence of the University through books and the hierarchy of our schools is sufficient to establish it in the good graces of thinking members of the industrial democracy, I would put this question—Has the democracy no interest in the education of the middle and upper classes? Is it not rather an urgent interest that the employer of labour should be gentle rather than rough, educated rather than uneducated, considerate rather than obtuse? Would the artisan find the world more tolerable if nobody enjoying a higher social station than himself had ever caught the glow of an intellectual and moral ideal from the thinkers and

teachers of a University, had ever learned the lesson of humility which comes to the true student, or had felt the power of knowledge to alleviate the dulness of life? A community is too closely knit together for it to be possible for the education appropriate to any part of it to fall into neglect without evil effects being experienced in every other part. People talk of the ignorance of the poor; there is a much more dangerous form of ignorance—the ignorance of the rich. But it is a mistake to believe that Universities only train the rich. Our great dependency of India is governed largely by Scots, many of whom are drawn from very humble homes, but who have won their way to places of great station and responsibility through the education which they have received at the Scottish Universities. In the government of India, Yorkshire practically plays no part at all, and though other causes, and in particular the prosperity of the Yorkshire industries, may be brought forward in explanation, the principal reason seems to me to be due to the fact that, whereas Scotland has for many generations been equipped with cheap and vigorous Universities, the University movement in Yorkshire is still in its infancy.

Still, it may be urged that, however cheap and effective Universities may be made, and whatever added perfections may be given to the educational ladder, it will only be the rare individual who, starting from a worker's home, is able to obtain the full benefit of University life. This is true, and until recently we should all have doubted whether the Universities could directly touch the main body of working men and women who are already involved in the grinding machinery of industrial life. How can a working man get University learning? Elementary learning he may of course get, the learning of a secondary school he may possibly get, but University learning, which implies that the student jumps off from the higher secondary school stage, can he possibly have the time or the surplus energy to conquer this too? The experience of the Workers' Educational Association

supplies some answer to this question. All over the country workers have been found to join classes where teaching of a University type is given, to go through a serious course of reading, to write essays upon themes prescribed by their tutors, and to emerge after three years' study, not only with an equipment of tested knowledge upon a field carefully circumscribed, but also, as we are informed, with something of the real academic spirit.

What is that spirit? It may be described as an alert readiness to interrogate facts and to abide by the award of reason. All dogma in the sphere of living human interest is abhorrent to it, for as soon as knowledge is only required for controversial purposes, half the value of knowledge disappears. The living, growing, changing thing turns into a dead stone to be hurled at an adversary. The open door is violently closed. The fairy spirit of curiosity is slain by the same dull demon who writes our platform speeches and inspires the tirades of our mechanical press.

In Sheffield, partly owing to the existing character of the local industries, partly owing to the "shift system" and overtime, the Workers' Educational Association starts under peculiar disadvantages. Nevertheless, it would be strange if in so vast and intelligent and industrial a population there were not material to furnish ten tutorial classes each of twenty students.* We in the University do not despair of such a result, and it is a happy augury that the work of spreading University knowledge among the workers of this region has been taken up by so keen a student and so good a teacher as the author of the spirited little pamphlet to which these few words serve as an introduction.

H. A. L. FISHER.

(Written when Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield).

[*It is interesting to note that, despite the War, the number of classes in the area served by the University of Sheffield has increased from 5 to 15, thanks largely to Mr. Fisher's energetic championship of the work.—A.F.]

NOTE ON THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

(Written for the Original Edition).

By ALBERT MANSBRIDGE.

When the mind grows troubled in its efforts to find solutions to all those huge and oftentimes baffling problems which are pressing about us to-day, and which Mr. Arnold Freeman lays so clearly before us in this exceedingly thoughtful and suggestive pamphlet, a new hope and courage come to it when it turns to the subject of education. The whole tangled business of this modern world of ours straightens out a little; our faith grows stronger again, our vision of the future brighter and clearer. Education—and heaven knows how many false personifications of her which are stalking about the land have to be overthrown—is full of power to bring harmony and beauty into our civilisation, where now the eye sees discord and ugliness.

On p. 50 Mr. Arnold Freeman says: "A movement was started some few years ago, called the Workers' Educational Association, to provide education for adult working men and women. . . . It seems to me one of the most promising instruments we have for building up the New Social Order."

Let us quite briefly look a little more closely at this movement and at what it is doing. Started in 1903, it has now* grown into a great federation of over 2,500† organisations—trade unions, co-operative societies, working men's and women's clubs, teachers' associations, university bodies, etc.; also of over 10,000‡ individual members. It has some 180§ branches in all

* 1914.

† In 1918 increased to 2,709.

‡ In 1918 increased to 14,607.

§ In 1918 increased to 209.

parts of the country, and is at work not only in the United Kingdom and Ireland, but also in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.* That it has become a worldwide movement is perfectly natural, because the hunger for a broader education than has been theirs in the past is universal among working men and women, and the "W.E.A." is out to help satisfy that hunger.

The Association is unsectarian and non-party; it welcomes and respects divers kinds of beliefs and opinions. It only asks of its members that their beliefs and opinions shall be real ones; that they shall be genuine seekers after truth, and shall face each problem as it arises steadfastly and without prejudice.

All kinds of workers come together in its ranks—miners, railwaymen, shop assistants, farm labourers, mill hands, housewives, teachers, university professors, and many others, all meeting together on an absolutely equal footing. The "W.E.A." realised from its start how greatly the realms of knowledge have been impoverished by the breach that has for so long existed between labour and learning. On the one hand, it saw men and women who have the kind of education that can only be won by real experience, by manual toil, by struggle and hardship, who yet lack that other kind of education which helps them to think and express themselves clearly and connectedly, and to draw at first-hand from the store-houses of human knowledge. On the other hand, it saw people who have had free access to these, but who in their turn lack understanding and practical experience of all sorts of questions, more particularly of economic ones. And one of the great things the "W.E.A." is doing is to draw these different types of people together to learn of one another and to teach one another. This is what is taking place with such wonderful success and mutual benefit to all con-

[*Great developments have taken place since Mr. Mansbridge wrote. For an up-to-date statement see the W.E.A. Education Year-book.—A.F.]

cerned in the Tutorial Classes which Mr. Arnold Freeman describes, and in all those numbers of other classes organised by the "W.E.A." and run on very similar lines.

Throughout the country, working men and women of all ages—an old lady of 74, for example, after powerful service to the community, recently joined a Tutorial Class—are eagerly studying economics, history, philosophy, psychology, literature, and biology, are doing work of real university standard, and are bringing an enthusiasm and a freshness and originality of outlook which are delighting and astonishing their tutors.

The splendid part of the whole thing is that these students are moved by pure love of knowledge and desire to equip themselves in such a way as will best fit them to serve the community. They do not join a class because this seems to them a good method for getting on in the world, because they think that the education so gained will help them to earn an extra shilling or two a week, or will give them a different social status.

Women, just as much as men, are coming into the movement in ever-increasing numbers. Many have been emphatic in declaring that thereby life has become a new thing to them, full of hitherto undreamed-of possibilities. Instances are on record of sweated women workers attending a Shakespeare class week by week; of a little shirt-maker finding one of her chief joys in life in the study of Greek life and literature; of a woman tramping two miles to her village history class, and never missing putting in an appearance for two winters.

The mention of this last student leads me to speak for just a moment of the work that the Workers' Educational Association is doing in the villages. Mr. Arnold Freeman, on p. 26, in speaking of English rural life, says: "The countryside is deserted. Agriculture can never again become the 'root-life.'" At the

same time, he would probably willingly agree that wider and more generous opportunities for education in the villages will do much to re-vivify them, and to check somewhat the constant emigration to the towns. The Association is now* at work in over twenty villages, and classes have been held in history, literature, natural science, and hygiene, in several cases a large percentage of the students being workers on the land. Moreover, acting, Morris dancing, singing, and summer rambles about the neighbourhood have been organised by our village branches. Let this sort of thing only spread, and we shall see a changed countryside, peopled with men and women who will understand their own needs and will know better how to express them.

In town and village alike, then, this educational movement of ours is full of abundant promise for the future. We shall go forward as an association, working with all our might to satisfy that hunger for education that is abroad, and to awaken it where it has not yet been consciously felt; working, too, to help form an enlightened public opinion on educational matters; working for all true educational reforms. For we are confident that only through education—mental, moral, and spiritual—will men and women enter into their lawful heritage of full, glad life.

ALBERT MANSBRIDGE.

* 1914.

PART I.

Historical.(I.) ENGLAND, ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY
YEARS AGO

ON THE EVE OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

“ Could the England of 1685,” Macaulay says, “ be by some magical process brought before our eyes, we should not know one landscape in a hundred, or one building in ten thousand. The country gentleman would not recognise his own fields. The inhabitant of the town would not recognise his own street. Everything has been changed, but the great features of Nature and a few massive and durable works of human art. We might find out Snowdon and Windermere, the Cheddar Cliffs or Beachy Head. We might find out here and there a Norman minster or a castle which witnessed the Wars of the Roses. But, with such rare exceptions, everything would be strange to us.”

Macaulay was looking back over the century and a half that elapsed between the reign of Charles II. and the time in which he wrote. The change has been even more startling in the century and a half that separates us from the England of the accession of George III. In a period so brief that two long lives would cover it, the face of this country has been completely transformed.

To know something of this mediæval condition of society in 1764, and to realise how swiftly modern England has come into being, is essential to any sure apprehension of the social problems that confront us to-day. It is only as we come to understand what changes have been made, and why they have come about, that we can anticipate the developments of the future,

In 1764 the population of England and Wales was considerably less than the present population of Greater London. The most reliable estimates point to something like 6,000,000 persons. And at that period, as Defoe tells us, "The country south of the Trent is by far the largest, as well as the richest and most populous." "In truth," says Macaulay, "a large part of the country beyond the Trent, down to the eighteenth century, was in a state of barbarism. . . . Before the union of the two British crowns, and long after that union, there was as great difference between Middlesex and Northumberland as there is now between Massachusetts and the settlements of those squatters who, far to the west of the Mississippi, administer a rude justice with the rifle and the dagger."

Among the towns London was pre-eminent, and contained about three-quarters of a million inhabitants. Bristol had 100,000; Norwich had 50,000; Manchester and Liverpool each about 35,000; Birmingham, Sheffield and Leeds each nearly 30,000. But two-thirds of the population lived in rural areas, and the village, not the town, was the typical unit of social and industrial life.

In order to understand the industrial and social arrangements that characterised this period, it is essential to realise that communications were in the most imperfect state. It took an unconscionable time to send goods from one country to another in a sailing vessel, and the chances of shipwreck and piracy were considerable. Hence the traffic between one country and another in merchandise or ideas was insignificant. The internal means of communication were equally undeveloped. The rivers were the chief mode of transit; the first canal was cut only in 1755; the main roads were, with few exceptions, vile beyond description; in most country districts there were no roads at all that would take wheeled vehicles. Highwaymen or footpads infested the lines of traffic. Such a condition of communications made travelling out of the question for all but the most wealthy or the most

adventurous; it effectually isolated each little village community from its neighbour; it determined the framework in which the life of the period had to be carried on. The lack of communications enforced upon each little village-community, the provision of its own needs from the niggard supplies within its own tiny area. Only by the incessant labour of every member of the family, aged grandparents as well as tiny infants, could the bare necessities of life be provided for each household. The villagers had none of the luxuries and few of what we should call the comforts or even the decencies of existence. Everything was "home-made," from the squalid, insanitary cottage in which the family lived and died, to the wooden spoons and forks that they shaped of a winter's evening in the chimney corner. The spinning and weaving of wool were combined with agricultural and pastoral pursuits; in all essentials the villagers lived the kind of life that mankind has adopted ever since we have written records. They lived "on the soil" and supplied all their needs by direct effort. Although it is true that here and there a factory was arising, and that towns were already increasing in size, still these phenomena were at that time novel and abnormal. Manufacture was still in its domestic stage, and agriculture was the foundation-industry of the country.

The system of agriculture was well-nigh identical in method and result with that in use at the time the seal of King John was affixed to Magna Carta. The villagers, who rented their houses from the "Lord of the Manor," held the land in common. This land was divided up into tiny strips, and each villager was allotted annually a "scattered holding of strips distributed in various parts of the common fields. Most of these strips owed rent to a landlord, but many of them were freeholds belonging to the yeomen. These complicated arrangements for tenure, combined with the ignorance, the antiquated methods, and the lack of equipment on the part of the villagers, made agriculture wretchedly unproductive. "Never were more miserable crops seen," cries Arthur Young, "than all

the spring ones in the common fields—absolutely beneath contempt ! ”

The social system of the time was still feudal in its essential features. Throughout the countryside the landowner's word was law, and his power was irresistible. Local government and justice hinged upon his authority as Justice of the Peace; economic control over his tenants was vested in him as superior landlord. In both Houses of Parliament the landlords were the dominant class, and it was they who “ ran ” the country. Not one person in five hundred possessed the right to vote, and most of those who had such a privilege exercised it in obedience to the command of some landed proprietor. Both the King and the House of Lords had considerably more power than they have at the present day, but the ultimate sovereignty in the Constitution was recognised as resident in the House of Commons. There was not, however, anything approaching democratic government. It was not until 1776 that the rebellious American Colonies declared the inalienable right of every individual to “ life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness ”; and not until 1789 that the revolutionaries in Paris affirmed to the world that nations should be built upon the principles of “ liberty, fraternity and equality.” In 1764 England was still untroubled by these modern ideas, and the very notion of government “ by the people ” and “ for the people ” would have seemed preposterous to all classes, and most of all to “ the people ” themselves. Centuries of a hierarchical régime had bred in them habits of unquestioning submission to the social order in which they lived. They were stupid and ignorant, and quite incapable of forming political opinions or undertaking the duties of government. It was only where they were beginning to mass together in the towns, where conversation flowed more freely, that new ideas of government began to circulate.

If progress means the utilisation of the forces of Nature for the service of man, England was at this time in a wretchedly unprogressive condition. The English people in 1764 were at the mercy of Nature.

The magical possibilities latent in coal and steam and iron were unrecognised; and therefore, in the midst of wealth incredible, which a knowledge of these secrets would have unlocked for them, the people slaved day and night for the barest physical necessities, and among them disease and death worked havoc which we should regard as intolerable even in our slums.

All the power over Nature which the English people at this time possessed lay in their own muscles. It was not until 1769 that Watt took out his patent for the steam-engine. "I sell, Sire," said his partner Boulton to George III., "what all the world desires—Power!" The application of steam-power to man's affairs has changed the face of the world infinitely more than any other event in the history of mankind. From that time forward man began to be master of Nature, and if he is still poor, it is not Nature's fault, but his own.

(II.) ENGLAND ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

IN THE THICK OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

The steam-engine unquestionably plays the chief part (hero or villain—which you will) in the great drama of the Industrial Revolution, the last scenes of which have yet to be enacted. It was impossible for a village yokel to house a steam-engine in his cottage. The use of this instrument of production, therefore, necessitated the erection of a factory in which to keep it. Domestic industry came to an end and the factory system took its place. And as the workers congregated around their place of employment, so the modern over-populated industrial town came into being.

In 1814 this transformation was rapidly being effected. England was in the thick of the Industrial Revolution. It is true that there were extensive survivals of the domestic system of manufacture, especially in the time-honoured woollen industry. The two employments of agriculture and manufacture were still in many parts united in the same household or in the

same person. But the on-coming tide had already surrounded these islets, and it was obvious that they would sooner or later be submerged.

The improvements being made in communication with other nations, as well as within our own boundaries, made possible the manufacture of much larger quantities of goods to supply an increasing market. What is called "large-scale production" came into being. Machinery was rapidly installed in industry after industry. By 1814 steam was established as the main motive power for industrial purposes. The Industrial North flashed into existence; immediately the priceless supplies of coal and iron began to be utilised in industry. Coal provided the energy that drove the steam-engine; iron provided the machines that it set in motion.

The effects of these developments are nowhere more plainly written than in the changes they produced upon the density, distribution and industrial character of the population. The new methods of production rapidly increased the wealth of the country and—in spite of the crushing burdens of the war with France—made possible the support of far greater numbers of people. In the five decades between 1764 and 1814, the population increased more than it had done in the previous five centuries. England and Wales now held nearly eleven million inhabitants.

The services of the bulk of the population were utilised for the new industries. We find in 1814 that something like two-thirds of the people have become industrial and urban in character, while only one-third remain agricultural and rural. Lancashire and the West Riding rival London in the density of the population that has swarmed northwards to the sources of national prosperity.

Such rapid transformations in industry and population had far-reaching consequences, many of which are still working themselves out at the present day. The production of wealth having become dependent on machinery, society was sharply divided into the two classes representing Capital and Labour, those who

owned and those who worked the instruments of production. The enclosure of the common-fields robbed the labourer of his last stake in the soil. The mass of the population, divorced henceforward from both land and capital, became a propertyless proletariat, dependent for the means of subsistence on the class who owned the wealth. And in the swelling urban areas, which this new industrial population created, arose a thousand new problems of "capital *versus* labour," poverty, unemployment, low wages, housing, etc., that were the inevitable outcome of the changed conditions. So unforeseen and so incredibly swift were these developments that they found the people of England totally unprepared to deal with them. Parliament, having nothing better in its armoury than mediæval weapons, was advised by the philosophers and economists of the age to leave things alone. These thinkers saw quite truly that the old regulations in discipline of trade were not adapted to the new conditions that were arising; they knew also that Parliament at that time was so corrupt and incapable that its interference would probably lead to more harm than good. These practical considerations probably encouraged them to build up their exaggerated philosophy of the wickedness of all Government interference, and to push their plea for the "liberty of the individual" beyond all the bounds of commonsense. Their reasonings carried the day. Laissez-faire triumphed. Let us look at some of its results.

One half of all those employed in the new cotton factories in the first quarter of a century were children under sixteen; one-sixth were children under nine. Sir Robert Peel declared in the House that it was not uncommon for little children of not more than six to be torn from their beds and compelled to work fifteen or sixteen hours a day. When Peel attempted to legislate, he was told that the evil did not exist, or that it was greatly exaggerated; that the prosperity of the nation depended on the cotton industry, and that legislation would paralyse it; that he was interfering with the rights of the parents and with the freedom of

labour; that it was difficult to say how far this might be carried; that it would make the workers discontented and lead them to combine together. • It was not till 1819 that an Act was passed—in the teeth of the orthodox economics and of the business interests—which forbade the labour of children under nine in factories. In 1829, Robert Owen passed an almost identical measure, which would seem to prove that the previous legislation was a dead letter. This Act, in its turn, was largely inoperative.

Children were employed by the manufacturers because the new labour required was mostly unskilled, and because children were cheap. The abuse of child-labour, coming with the rapid increase of population, led to the most terrible poverty and distress. The price of wheat was considerably over 80s. a quarter. Wages for adult male workers averaged considerably less than two shillings a day. (In 1834, six agricultural labourers were transported for joining a union, after their wages had been reduced from ten to seven shillings a week.) About one-sixth of the whole population was receiving help from the poor rate. The workers begged Parliament to put in force the Elizabethan Act which directed justices to fix wages, but the manufacturers represented that such a course would ruin their trade, and in 1813 the Act was repealed. Unemployment, owing to the sudden and fitful expansion of trade, was terrible. In 1811, a petition of no fewer than 40,000 operatives in Manchester stated that the majority of those employed in machine-industry were not getting three days' work in the week. In the same year, 7,000 cotton spinners and weavers in Bolton piteously informed Parliament that not more than two-thirds of their looms were working, and that those employed could not earn more than five shillings a week. A Parliamentary Committee was appointed to consider these grievances. Its Report was issued promptly. "The suggestions submitted for consideration by the petitioners are exposed to insuperable objections; no interference of the legislature with the freedom of trade or with the perfect liberty of every individual to

dispose of his time and of his labour in the way and on the terms which he may judge most conducive to his own interest, can take place without violating general principles of the first importance to the prosperity and happiness of the community."

The hours of work were far longer than at present; the conditions of employment were often unspeakably filthy and insanitary, and were totally unregulated by law; combinations of workpeople to improve their conditions were prohibited; practically the whole of the middle and working classes were still excluded from representation in Parliament. Crimes of the most trivial character were punished with brutal ferocity. Not a penny was spent by the Government on education, health or the general welfare of the community. Local Government, designed for tiny communities, practically broke down under the sudden swelling of the population. It seems probable that this period marks the lowest depth of degradation and misery ever reached by the people of this country.

(III.) ENGLAND FIFTY YEARS AGO.

RECOVERING FROM THE SHOCK OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

The horrible conditions of existence outlined in the foregoing section were perpetuated for many years after 1814. Then, little by little, knowledge accumulated, political and administrative machinery was built up, legislation was passed, and by 1864 a far more promising social order had been established, the worst of the old evils were swept away, and modern England had come into being.

The industrial evolution of the country has proceeded as we might anticipate that it would. The steam-engine has been put upon wheels to draw railway trains, and used at sea to propel ships. The penny post has been established. Telegraphic communication is set up all over the country, and in 1866 England

and America have been linked by a cable. These facilities for the conduct of business and the transit of goods made it possible for English capitalists to carry on their operations on a scale of ever-increasing size and complexity. Capital accumulated. Between 1814 and 1864 the old conception of a self-sufficing nation was frankly repudiated. Free Trade was established. We came to depend on other countries for our supplies of food and raw materials, and in return we sent our manufactures to the ends of the earth. Compared with any earlier period in our history, we were fabulously rich.

The increase in the national accumulations made possible a further gigantic growth in the population. The census of 1861 recorded twenty millions as the total number of people for England and Wales—nearly double what it had been in 1811. Of this number, only one-fifth were now employed in agriculture.

Spencer Walpole remarks that "the wealth of the upper and middle classes increased twice as rapidly as the numbers of the population," but by 1864, in different degrees, all classes were sharing in the general prosperity. The workers had been grudgingly allowed to have their Unions, and at this period some 200,000 workers were organised to improve the conditions under which they laboured. The Co-operative Movement boasted of 120,000 members. The Corn Laws had been abolished in 1846, and the prices of all the necessities of life stood far lower than they had done fifty years before. Wages, on the other hand, had gone up. Hours of labour for men were reduced to some sixty a week.

Most important of all, perhaps, in its ultimate consequences, was the steadily increasing disposition of the State to interfere in the industrial and social life of the people. Such interference dealt with crying evils; it was never a consistent policy; it was reluctant and spasmodic; it was always performed with an apology and an air of finality. But it went on, urged by humanitarian considerations against which even the opposition of the capitalists was powerless. Economic

theory was also swinging round to a qualified support of State interference.

This new policy was further strengthened by the partial democratisation of the machinery of government effected by the Reform Act of 1832. This Act gave the country getting on for one-and-a-half million upper-class voters by the year 1864. It was followed in 1867 by the Second Reform Act, which enfranchised the bulk of the working-classes and doubled the electorate. But, in spite of these democratic movements, which even such progressive thinkers as Bagehot feared might plunge the country into chaos, it was long before Parliament began to take upon itself the responsibility of any extensive interference with the conditions of industry. In 1864, the law had got no further than some piece-meal regulations for the restriction of hours and the fencing of machinery; it concerned itself only with women and children; it applied almost exclusively to textile factories. Of what we call "social legislation" there were only the tiniest beginnings. Education was still carried on by private enterprise, supplemented by niggardly grants from the State; probably about one-half of the whole population could neither read nor write. Nor had attention to the health of the community progressed much further; but the various Acts which had reconstituted local government facilitated the treatment of problems of housing and public health by local bodies.

In 1864 this nation was in a much happier state than it had been in 1814. Judged, however, by almost any other standard, it was in a deplorable condition.

PART II.

England Before the War.*(Written in the early part of 1914.)***(I.) INDUSTRIAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS.**

Not more than one-fifth of the population now live in rural districts; less than one man in ten is engaged in agriculture.

"Rural England," says Mr. Masterman, "is everywhere hastening to decay. No one stays there who can possibly find employment elsewhere. All the boys and girls with energy and enterprise forsake, at the commencement of maturity, the life of the fields for the life of the town. A peasantry, unique in Europe in its complete divorce from the land, lacking ownership of cottage or tiniest plot of ground, finds no longer any attraction in cheerless toil of the agricultural labourer upon scant weekly wages."

Speaking of the normal social life, which mankind has maintained from primitive times, Mr. H. G. Wells says:—"It is the root-life. It rests upon the soil, and from that soil below and its reaction to the seasons and moods of the sky overhead, have grown most of the traditions, institutions, sentiments, beliefs, superstitions and fundamental songs and stories of mankind." In a few generations all that has been changed. Our national prosperity now rests upon coal and iron. The countryside is deserted. Agriculture can never again become the "root-life." However much we may deplore it, England has become an industrial and urban community.

The further development of the means of communication has brought this country into relations with other countries far more intimate than those which existed between one village and its neighbour a hundred

years ago. For most purposes the world is now one undivided market. We buy and sell according to our fancy in any part of the globe, and the difficulty of communication and transit is almost negligible. A hundred years ago we were practically self-sufficing, and strenuous efforts were made by patriotic statesmen to keep us so. To-day, if the importation of foodstuffs from other countries should be cut off, we should scarcely survive long enough to make our wills. And if our supplies of raw material from abroad were to cease, every factory in England would lie idle in a few weeks.

In payment for the £600,000,000 worth of foodstuffs and raw materials we receive from other countries, we send to them the manufactured goods, to the making and carrying of which the majority of English people give their lives. By reason of the fact that the market for goods has become so enormous, what is called "large-scale production" has become the rule in manufacture. Vast quantities of articles of uniform pattern are required and supplied. 5,000,000 pens and 35,000,000 pins, for example, are turned out every day from Birmingham. Such miracles of production are, of course, dependent on the application of scientific knowledge to the processes of manufacture, and to the thorough-going utilisation of labour-saving machinery. It is this use of the powers science has placed in our hands that has made possible the present accumulations of wealth, so that to-day we are, man for man, a hundred or a thousand times as well off as we were a century and a half ago. In 1914 a cotton loom, attended by a man and two boys, produces as much as 4,000 workers could have done in 1764. It is solely because of this use of the forces that scientists are revealing to us that our standard of comfort has risen in each successive generation, so that to-day we can look with pity and horror on the conditions of life a century or more ago.

As the market for the sale of goods has increased in size, so the individual business has been also enlarged. "The typical unit of production is no longer a single

family or a small group of persons working with a few cheap, simple tools upon small quantities of material, but a compact and closely-organised mass of labour composed of hundreds or thousands of individuals, co-operating with large quantities of expensive and intricate machinery, through which passes a continuous and mighty volume of raw material on its journey to the hands of the consuming public." The small business tends to be replaced by the large. Monopoly tends to replace competition. The Trust has already almost become the typical method of production.

The divorce between Capital and Labour seems scarcely less decisive than it was at the opening of last century. On the one hand you have a small body of men owning the mass of the national accumulations, whether in the shape of land, machinery or other property; these wealthy capitalist-employers tend to become fewer in number, more powerful, and better organised. They have their trade unions, like their men; in 1912 there were 1,162 Masters' Associations for protecting the interests of capital as against those of labour. On the other hand, you have the mass of the population of this country, most of them with scarcely a penny in their pockets on the morning of pay-day. For a hundred years they have been organising among themselves, but the majority of workers are too poor or too apathetic to pay attention to the appeals of their shrewder comrades. Only some 3,500,000 manual workers (out of an army five times as great) are as yet enrolled in Unions; a majority of these, probably, are good for little except a strike; but nevertheless Trade Unionism is rightly looked upon by the worker as all-important in his struggle for life.

The divorce between Labour and Capital is the main cause of social discontent in our present civilisation. There is a constantly growing body of suggestions for uniting them once more (as in the Golden Age) in the bonds of holy matrimony. It seems to me that the employer of to-day is far more humane than he used to be. I gravely question, however, whether this huge, complex problem can ever be solved by haphazard ex-

periments in philanthropic business enterprise, or by schemes of profit-sharing. Perhaps the most hopeful movement, in which Labour and Capital do genuinely associate happily together, is that called Co-operation. In the Co-operative store each member buys his goods at the ordinary market prices and receives periodically a dividend proportionate to the extent of his purchases. By trading upon this simple method, the Co-operative Movement has so greatly extended its scope that to-day no fewer than 3,000,000 working men and women are enrolled as members, and the Co-operative Wholesale, which supplies goods to the retail stores, is the largest private business in this country.

The social conditions prevalent are in the main a reflex of the industrial. It will be convenient to think of this community as a pyramid, in the apex of which we visualise "the upper classes," whom we say are "at the top," and in the lower strata of which we shall find the "lower classes" and "the bottom dog." In the very point of the pyramid is the small class of the Very Rich—the Royal Family, Lords, Landowners, Capitalists. They are not by any means all of them "idle rich," but it is no exaggerated condemnation to say that in proportion to their opportunity they do not discharge their duty to the commonwealth. From this class we have a right to look for inspiration, governance and leadership. But we do not get them. "As a matter of fact," wrote Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, recently, "whatever may be said of the brain-working professional, it is the rarest of all exceptions for any wealthy property owner himself to give to the world either scientific research or artistic creation, to enrich us with musical composition or ennobling literature, or to widen or deepen our religious life." It was Lord Rosebery—speaking in circumstances which gave his utterance exceptional weight—who declared that not one hundred and fifty of the peers in the House of Lords were fit to exercise their privilege as legislators.

The Middle Class, which occupies the next stratum in the Social Pyramid, roughly comprises people with incomes between £5,000 a year (above which super-tax

is imposed) and £160 a year (below which income-tax is remitted). Here you have the bulk of your business and professional men—employers, farmers, well-to-do shopkeepers, lawyers, doctors, ministers of religion, writers, teachers, engineers. Most of the men who supply us with ideas, teach us and govern us, belong to the Middle Class. In his book on "The Condition of England," Mr. C. F. G. Masterman says: "It is the Middle Class which stands for England in most modern analyses." It is, almost certainly, the happiest class in the country. Except where it borders on the topmost stratum of the pyramid, it is free from the perils of excessive wealth; and, except where it borders on the stratum below it, it is free from the horrors of urgent poverty. It is saturated, no doubt, with narrow views and foolish prejudices; it is too fond of money and luxury; it is superficial and hurried and purposeless. But it is, on the whole, a kindly and hardworking class, promising to expand into the cultured community that is one day to be the people of England.

In a narrow section of the pyramid, bounded above by the Middle Class, and below by the Manual Working Class, is a part of the community which has come into existence in the last fifty years. The members of this class constitute the lower ranks of our brain-working professions, and comprise many teachers, Government officials, clerks, assistants, journalists. These earn less than £160 a year, but they belong to the professional rather than to the manual-working class. It is estimated that no fewer than 3,000,000 persons are in this situation. Perhaps the struggle for existence is nowhere so bitterly felt as with the members of this class, and marriage is made almost prohibitive to them.

Next we have "the Masses": the great army of the working-classes who perform the manual toil—agricultural labourers, miners, transport workers, building operatives, factory hands, general labourers, shop assistants, servants, employees of public bodies. In this section of the community exist sub-sections clearly separated from one another. There are highly skilled, low skilled and unskilled workers. There is

the "aristocracy of labour" and there are the "camp-followers." There are, in fact, no workers "in the mass." It is estimated that 6 per cent. of the male manual workers get 45s. a week or over, which means a little more than £100 a year; 7 per cent. get between 45s. and 40s.; 13 per cent. between 40s. and 35s.; 21 per cent. less than 35s. and more than 30s.; a further 21 per cent. less than 30s. and more than 25s. This makes 68 per cent. getting 25s. or over. The remaining one-third of the workers are getting less than 25s. a week, and of these 4 per cent. get less than 15s. and 8 per cent. less than 20s. So far as we can trust such investigations as those of Mr. Charles Booth and Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, we may conclude that between one-third and one-half of the manual working-class is suffering such physical, mental and moral distress as is consequent upon an insufficiency of the bare necessities of life. And even the upper half of the working-class are at every point of their lives limited by their lack of house room, garden space and spare money.

To expect great political sagacity or robust virtue from a class so conditioned seems asking too much. What the investigator discovers is a happy-go-lucky indifference on the part of the mass of the workers to their own lot and to the lot of the race. They seem to have as good a time as they can with things as they are. Mr. Masterman writes as follows: "In Mr. Grayson, again, a certain type has become articulate; the 'Clarionette' with red tie, flannel shirt and bicycle, who has been moved to continuous anger by the vision of trampled women and starving children in the cities of plenty. Such men see the world transfigured in the light of a great crusade. They are convinced that by demonstration and violence to-day, or (at latest) to-morrow, 'the people' will rise in their millions and their might and pluck down the oppressors who are 'sucking their blood' and inaugurate the golden age of the Socialistic Millennium. But meantime 'the people' are thinking of almost everything but the Socialistic Millennium. They are thinking how to get

steady work; of the iniquities of the foreigner; of the possibility or desirability of war, now with the Transvaal, now with Germany. They are thinking which horse is going to win in some particular race, or which football eleven will attain supremacy in some particular league. They are thinking that wife or child is ill or happy, of entertainment, of the pleasure in reminiscence of one past holiday, or the pleasure in anticipation of another."

The late Canon Barnett averred that the workers possess "the strenuousness and modesty which come by contact with hardship and the sympathy which comes by daily contact with suffering. They, as a class, are more unaffected, more generous, more capable of self-sacrifice than members of the other classes." He asserted that "the working class is the hope of the nation," and that "their moral qualities justify that hope."

There can be no question that, as compared with the worker of a hundred years ago, or even of fifty years ago, we have to-day a man awake and intelligent. "The first thing that has to be realised," says Mr. H. G. Wells, "if the Labour question is to be understood at all, is that the temper of Labour has changed altogether in the last twenty or thirty years. . . . The outlook of the workman has passed beyond the works and his beer and his dog. He has become—or, rather, he has been replaced by—a being of eyes, however imperfect, and of criticism, however hasty and unjust. The working man of to-day reads, talks, has general ideas and a sense of the round world; he is far nearer to the ruler of to-day in knowledge and intellectual range than he is to the working man of fifty years ago."

It seems to me, however, that it will be many years before the workers are sufficiently educated to use their political power for the good of the whole nation. During some investigations which I made in 1912 for the Town Council of Birmingham,* I questioned a

* See "Boy Life and Labour," by Arnold Freeman (P. S. King and Son).

number of typical boy-workers in the city, aged about 17 or 18, concerning current political matters. Most of these boys were ignorant of the names of the present Prime Minister or of the present or late Leader of the Opposition. The only questions of which most of them knew anything whatever were the Insurance Act ("He's got my fourpence") and Votes for Women (which they had "seen at the Picture Palace"). In three or four years all of these boys will become fully-fledged citizens—knowing no more than they do now about politics—but legally competent to govern your destiny and mine. They are, I believe, typical of more than half of the whole working class. The working class, which to-day has the overwhelming preponderance of political power, is not yet educated in a manner at all commensurate with its grave responsibility.

At the very base of the social pyramid we have a class of Social Failures numbering probably as many as the population of London. In this class may be included the perpetually and chronically under-employed, the casual workers, the sweated workers, beggars, tramps, criminals, prostitutes, wastrels, the feeble-minded, the physically incapacitated and the morally degenerate. These classes are parasitic upon those who perform the manual and intellectual work. In every imaginable way they are a terrible burden upon the rest of us. It is from them and their offspring that all the gravest of our educational and medical and criminal problems arise. It is they who poison the life of the whole community. Probably a good quarter of the national income goes by way of charity and taxation to the mere keeping alive of this unfortunate aggregation of "misérables."

The Government of this country has become democratic. In the House of Commons, elected by the people, resides the ultimate sovereignty. Our constitution is described by Mr. Leonard Courtney as "a republic, veiled in monarchical forms and containing in its organisation large survivals of aristocratic privilege." It is, of course, true that many men and all women are still excluded from citizenship, and that, by

various specious arguments, it can be shown that our constitution is still deplorably undemocratic. Without pausing to consider these, we can assert beyond the possibility of contradiction that, as compared with any previous period in our history, we are to-day a democratic nation: and that if a majority of the people fail to make Parliament do as they require, this is not due to the inadequacies of our system of representation, so much as to their own economic circumstances and lack of education and energy.

And while we grumble at Parliament and Members of Parliament as cheerfully as we do at the weather, there seems no ground for believing that we shall scrap our present political machine in exchange for any substitute. Alter it we certainly shall; replace it, never. So far from attempting to overturn the present constitution, or to get things done outside politics, the growing tendency with all of us is to rely upon Parliament. A century ago all the effective classes in the community were pleading with Parliament to leave things alone, and Parliament washed its hands of the nation. To-day, no matter in what political party or social stratum, the plea is for State interference. The Conservative Party wants to use Parliament to effect far-reaching changes in our fiscal relations with other countries. The Labour Party is avowedly in favour of vastly increased interference with the whole tissue of our national life. The Liberal Party, since it came into power in 1906, has gaily thrown off all its Gladstonian traditions of *laissez-faire*, and never hesitated to pass any measure merely because it meant an increase in the functions of the State. Sociological and economic opinion, for what it is worth, is well-nigh unanimous in supporting an extension of the sphere of State influence. And, whether we like it or loathe it, it appears to be as certain as the coming years that the rôle of the State in the developments of the future will be one of rapidly increasing consequence.

Already the State, in the management of the Post Office, conducts the largest single business concern in the country. It may not be many years distant before

the State takes over and runs the railways and perhaps the mines. So long ago as 1888, one of the Fabian Essays told us that the State "provides for many thousands of us from birth to burial—midwifery, nursery, education, board and lodging, vaccination, medical attendance, medicine, public worship, amusement and interment. It furnishes and maintains its own museums, parks, art galleries, libraries, concert halls, roads, streets, bridges, markets, slaughter-houses, fire engines, lighthouses, pilots, ferries, surf boats, steam tugs, lifeboats, cemeteries, public baths, washhouses, pounds, harbours, piers, wharves, hospitals, dispensaries, gasworks, waterworks, tramways, telegraph cables, allotments, cow-meadows, artisans' dwellings, schools, churches and reading rooms." In 1888 such a statement was more imposing than the realities to which it made reference. But to-day it represents not one-tenth of the extent of public activity. Actual supersession of private enterprise has been carried far; supervision of private enterprise has been carried much farther still. The State regulates conditions of labour, hours, wages, quality of goods, supply of labour. To the State we look increasingly for education and health, which are two of our most vital needs. Far-reaching proposals for the State to improve the housing of the whole populace, and regenerate town and country, are apparently regarded with equanimity by both the great political parties.

(II.) "UNREST."

In the light of the developments outlined in the foregoing sections of this paper, is it to be wondered at that there is unrest in England to-day? Of course, there is unrest. There has been unrest ever since Watt turned the steam-engine loose in our midst, like some terrific monster whose depredations we were powerless to prevent, and whose chaining down we have still only in part effected.

For generation after generation, and age after age, the people of this country lived their life upon the soil;

supplying with their own hands, from their own locality, the food and clothing, the fuel and shelter, which were all they had; living a slow, uneventful, unvarying existence; ignorant of the letters of the alphabet and of almost everything except their personal concerns in their own tiny area; accustomed to depend for all the business of government on their feudal or economic superiors.

And then, in a flash, this life is broken up. The use of steam-power and the development of communications increase beyond all belief the wealth of the country. Population expands, and its needs multiply as it becomes possible for the resources of the country to meet larger demands. Around the steam-engine is built the factory; around the factory grows the town; in the town are gathered workers, doing work never done before in the history of mankind, in masses so huge that in the early part of last century leading Members of Parliament refused to believe their own census returns.

To the needs of this new industrial order and vast urban population, the old political and social framework was not adapted. A thousand re-adjustments had to be made before the machinery of government and the social system could be fitted to the new order of things. What placed this task beyond the power of our great-grandfathers was mainly the lack of knowledge of what to do. The political and economic science of the time was largely erroneous. Those in charge of the government of the country were torn between the reasonings of the economists and the cries of despair from the multitude. And it was not until they reluctantly turned a deaf ear to the economists that we began to march forward to a more hopeful state of things. And to-day we are still settling down. Social science is still in its childhood. We are still experimenting. We go on with this herculean task of building up a political and social régime appropriate to the new industrial order, and we shall do well if we lay the perturbed spirit of unrest within the limits of the twentieth century.

Turning from the historical to what would be called the existing causes of unrest, it seems to me that the fundamental reason of it is the inequality of wealth. In past ages this has not been keenly felt. But to-day we have democracy. So far as political right goes, every man is, roughly speaking, the equal of every other man. The principle of equality is being carried also into the spheres of justice, religion, and, indeed, into all our everyday concerns. The elementary school and the cheap press have given the workers education sufficient to enable them to grasp the general condition of affairs; many of them by self-training are better educated on social questions than members of the upper classes. Thus, M. Viviani suggests, the worker "compares with sadness his political power with his economic dependence; humiliated every day with the contrast between his divided personality—on one side a miserable, on the other a sovereign; on one an animal, on the other a god."

There are, of course, many secondary causes of the unrest, but this inequality of wealth is the underlying cause to which most of the others stand affiliated. The bulk of the people of this country are poor, many of them very poor indeed. And yet, statisticians assure us, we are a wealthy country, and our national resources are sufficient to provide for all, the comforts of life. Behind all this vague unrest lies the desire of the poorer classes—and of many members of the richer classes—for a more equitable distribution of the wealth of the country. It is this widespread feeling which is giving birth to "social legislation."

(III.) THE STREAM OF TENDENCIES.

Under this heading I propose to sum up the leading changes of the last century and a half, so that we can see upon what lines future developments may be anticipated.

1. Most important of all changes has been the supersession of man's own muscles by steam and electrical power in the satisfaction of man's needs.

Increase of power over Nature is the basic difference between the new life and the old. The application of extra-human power and the use of machinery has made possible the sustentation of a population eight times as large as this island could support in 1764. But we are not merely eight times as wealthy as our great-great-grandfathers, but eight hundred or eight thousand times. The artisan of to-day enjoys unnumbered decencies and comforts that were undreamt of in the philosophy of the " nabob " of George III.'s time. We have lighting, drainage, sanitation, varied diet, medical attendance, education, postal service, newspapers, books, entertainment, roads, railways, steamers—all of them incomparably superior to the possibilities open to any social class a century and a half ago. Even the homes of the workers, wretched as they often are, are superior to all kinds of habitations in times past, except those of the wealthy gentry—superior even to these in many respects.

There are some " simple-life " reformers who would have us go back to the year 1764 and build our civilisation again without machinery. They hold machinery to be the devil which must be cast out before men and women will again " fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the Golden Age." To me such a policy seems neither possible nor desirable. It is rather like a literal acceptance of the dictum to " become as a little child "—as if this meant that a grown-up man should endeavour by the use of gin or the knife to reduce himself to the physical proportions of an infant. What the maxim means is that the grown-up person should try to reproduce with the full force of his mature powers the spontaneous virtues of the child. And so with this machine-power that science has given us as a nation. To win social salvation there is no call for us to endeavour to get rid of it again. " O ! 'tis excellent to have a giant's strength." We are only " tyrannous " to-day because we " use it like a giant." What we have to do is to build our great State firm upon the basis of machine-power, and, by every means we know of, increase the power and develop the machines.

2. While the increasing use of machinery will probably make it possible in the future to satisfy all the needs of humanity at the cost of far less human labour, it would seem unreasonable to suppose, as a school of land-reformers do, that we may again become a nation of tillers of the soil. In this country we have abandoned that life, as a basis of national prosperity, for ever. Our wealth depends upon coal, iron, cotton, wool, steel, hardware, ships, chemicals and so forth. We must do what Nature has given us the greatest facilities for doing, and exchange our products with other nations, in order to supply our elementary needs. We cannot abandon manufacture. We must be an industrial country. But, at the same time, we shall do well to remember that there is historical vigour in that worn formula "Back to the land." We have lived on the land from the earliest times, spade in hand, with the smell of the soil in our nostrils and the verdure of the fields before our eyes. The town-life is new for us; we long for green pastures and still waters. So it is, that while three-quarters of the population are compelled by iron laws to continue at industrial occupations, there is a powerful tendency at work to ruralise our urban areas. Indeed, it may be said that one of the most vital problems of present-day statesmanship is the regeneration of urban life by intermingling with its blackness the green of the country.

3. The gigantic increase in the population of this island and the aggregation of densely-packed masses of individuals in small areas, where ideas could circulate freely and organisation proceed easily, has been largely responsible for the rapid subjection of the Parliamentary machine to democratic control in the last hundred years. In 1864, Parliamentary government was in the hands of an exceedingly small minority of wealthy people. The franchise was conferred in 1832 on the upper and middle classes; in 1867 on the town-workers; and in 1884 on the lodger and the agricultural labourer. It seems certain that the next few years will witness further triumphs of the democratic principle in the abolition of the plural vote and the enfranchisement

of women. The democratic principle is that one person is as good as another. It may be dismissed as ridiculous, but it is the only practicable basis of representation. It carries with it the far-reaching corollary that as government is carried on by a number of individuals, each as good as his or her neighbour, so it should be for the benefit of all individuals, one equally with another—"Government of the people" and "Government for the people." This principle takes each year a firmer hold upon the imagination of the electorate, and we must anticipate a steady output of "democratic" legislation, whether Mr. Lloyd George is in office or in his grave.

4. At the beginning of last century we found an undemocratic Government engaged in not governing the country. Practically the whole of its attention was absorbed in preventing Buonaparte from landing on these shores, and in "putting down" social disturbances. Industrial and social conditions were, however, so terrible that, against its own beliefs and desires, Parliament, especially as it became more democratic, was obliged to pass measure after measure to mitigate the varied evils to which the people of this country were exposed. In the last fifty years or so there has thus been built up a voluminous and complex code of regulations affecting the whole of our life as a community. This policy of State control has been forced upon us by practical, not by theoretical, considerations. But it now has behind it a large and influential body of thought, and it may almost be said to have become part of our mental texture in our attitude to social problems. We no longer argue the question whether the State ought or ought not to do a certain thing. The ground of contention shifts to the desirability or necessity or cost of the particular extension of State interference contemplated.

There are, indeed, a few bold critics who declare that all State interference is a mistake, and that the legislative developments of the last century are one and all misguided, and that the result of continued State interference will, sooner or later, be nemesis. In reply,

we can retort that with the most elaborate regulation from outside, "the Lancashire cotton mill, in point of technical efficiency, still leads the world"; that health, education and comfort have all increased cheek by jowl with the increase in State interference; and that there is no shred of proof that there has been any undermining of the moral fibre of the nation on which in the last resort its prosperity depends.

Let me make three quotations from writers representing different schools of thought to emphasise this contention:—

Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, pessimistic though he is about the present, avows that "Certainly by all tangible and material tests—income, prices, security, comfort, addition to leisure and wages—the bulk of the people of this country have advanced so incredibly since the 'Hungry 'Forties' that the reality of those days would appear to the present generation but as bad dreams."

Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, more thoroughly informed, perhaps, on the social conditions of both 1814 and of 1914 than any other investigators, state: "Viewed in centuries, our nation is certainly on the up-grade. A hundred years ago the condition of the great mass of the people was deplorable in the extreme. We know of hardly any evil of to-day that was not in 1813 relatively more prevalent and more destructive. . . . Dreary as the outlook may seem to the pessimist of to-day, the outlook in 1813 was infinitely more hopeless. . . . If we could bring to life our ancestor of 1813, who instinctively assumed that nothing could be changed, he would be staggered at the 'impossibilities' that have come to pass. He would see at once that the community, taken as a whole, stood on a higher level than a century ago."

Finally, Mr. H. G. Wells: "Looked at too closely, (life) may seem to be that—a mere formless web of individual hates and loves; but detach oneself a little, and the broader forms appear. One perceives that something goes on that is constantly working to make order out of casualty, beauty out of confusion; justice,

kindliness, mercy out of cruelty and inconsiderate pressure. . . . In spite of all the confusions and thwartings of life, the hates and resiliencies, and counterstrokes of fate, it is manifest that in the long run human life becomes broader than it was, gentler than it was, finer, deeper. On the whole—and nowadays almost steadily—*things get better*. There is a secular amelioration of life, and it is brought about by Good Will working through the efforts of men."

(IV.) INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENTS.

How will the Industrial Revolution end? A hundred years ago the business world was made up of a myriad small firms, unscrupulous, in their desire for profit, whether this came from their own enterprise or from the sweating of their workpeople. With this "free competition," on which it was held that the integrity of industrial and national supremacy depended, neither State nor Trade Union interfered.

To-day the business world still has its host of small firms, but the typical firm is to-day the big business and the trust. Everywhere we see combination replacing competition, as small firms amalgamate together, or are absorbed by the large. A comparatively small body of men, the "captains of industry" have control over great masses of capital, and are in a very real sense "the Masters."

On their side, the workers have been organising. Not only have they become stronger by reason of improved conditions of life and training, but also because they have built up powerful national organisations, the Trade Unions, by which they are able to bring pressure to bear upon the employers, equal perhaps to any pressure the employers can bring to bear upon them. Through their Co-operative Stores, moreover, the workers have to a certain extent learnt to supply themselves with many of the necessities of life and to free themselves to that extent from dependence upon the capitalist classes.

The same principle of direct provision for need, or control of the goods produced by the consumer who uses them, inspires a great and growing volume of national and local public enterprise. We supply ourselves with hundreds of things (trams, books, baths, doctoring, gas, water, electricity, and even milk) which used at one time to be organised only for private profit-making. I believe it would be no exaggeration to say that a majority of the people in this country would welcome State ownership of both the railways and the mines. It is obvious that this extension of public activity represents a tremendous encroachment upon the field of private capitalistic enterprise. And even where the State does not oust the private owner, it obliges him to accept a comprehensive code of obligations before it will allow him to carry on his activities. This regulation of private enterprise increases as rapidly as public ownership.

Thus we have the harassed business-man struggling, so he tells us, to make sufficient profit to keep body and soul together. We have the employees struggling to get higher wages, better conditions of work, and even the control of industry itself. And we have the public, or consumers, struggling to get their everyday needs supplied in some better and cheaper manner than present conditions offer.

Every newspaper brings us news of a battle between the various combatants in this industrial warfare. It is still a matter of conjecture with whom the ultimate victory will lie. Syndicalists, like Mr. Tom Mann, will tell you that the workers will take over the industries of the country: Socialists, like Mr. Bernard Shaw, believe the State will become the master-manufacturer and distributor. Anti-Socialists, like Mr. Mallock, believe that the trust-magnates will obtain increasing authority in politics as well as in industry. We may all believe what we want to believe. Perhaps the next decade will bring us to a standpoint where it will be much easier to forecast the ultimate working out of the Industrial Revolution.

(V.) THE INEVITABLE SOCIAL POLICY.

The word "inevitable" is rather too bold a term, but I cannot find a less assertive and sufficiently synonymous substitute. I mean to try in this section of the pamphlet to outline the social policy which I believe to be inevitable because conditions make it so. It is the policy graven deep in the happenings of the last hundred years; the stream of tendencies forces it upon us. The proposals which follow are not the property of any one school of thought; to their partial realisation all political parties have already contributed much; to their more complete realisation we may be quite sure that all parties will contribute still more in the future. I have tried in what follows not to *invent* anything, but only to *discover* what measures circumstances are forcing upon us in our emergence to a higher stage of civilisation. Errors in details are unavoidable; so far as possible I have discreetly kept to the safer ground of generalisation.

What the New Social Order will be like we may leave to our imaginative writers to portray. The building of it is a task for our children and our children's children as well as for ourselves. We shall do well if in our time we can gain a sure comprehension of the problems involved and hazard some experimental solutions. It will take us years and generations of patient, constructive effort before order and contentment replace the seething discontents that invade every phase of modern life. There will be disorder after disorder, and crisis after crisis, before we settle down in the coming civilisation.

Although we cannot foresee the details of future social conditions, it will help us considerably in our constructive work if we can gain even the most general conception of what lies ahead of us, and what changes we must initiate. What we all want, with differing earnestness, is a race of fine, capable, strong men and women. We want Character; we want Ability; we want Health. But in order to get these things we must create the necessary environment.

That environment must include Healthy Conditions of Life, the greatest facilities for Education, sufficient Material Comforts, and Leisure for individual pursuits. All these things hang together like the arcs of a circle. It is unwise to give leisure without giving education; it is impossible to educate without providing a foundation of physical health; we shall never get adequate incomes until people are healthy and capable enough to deserve them.

We shall find as we look into things that we have long recognised, albeit subconsciously, that we must pursue some such social policy. We have been for many years providing what some writers call a "National Minimum" of Wage, Education, Health and Leisure. The suggestions made in this pamphlet are the "Inevitable Social Policy"; they are in every case mere extensions of principles already tried and not found wanting.

1. BABIES.

It is too obvious to need emphasis that our future as a race depends upon the quality of the babies that are being born to us. It is the alleged deterioration in the quality of the birth-supply that is causing such grave disquietude with all the more careful students of our social conditions. The birth-rate is declining, and *it is declining most in those sections of the community which we most desire to increase.* The standard of comfort in a family (including the quality of the upbringing given to the children) depends upon the total income as dividend and the number of the family as divisor. Parents of the middle and superior-artisan classes are refusing to lower their standard of comfort by increasing the number of their children beyond a few. Such considerations do not, unfortunately, weigh with the members of the lowest classes, and with them large families are still the rule. It is obvious that if this balance is not redressed we shall have, by the year 2,000, not a Great State, but the downfall of civilisation. "We must eliminate the Yahoo" (runs Mr. Bernard Shaw's fiat), "or his vote will wreck the commonwealth."

We can—and I myself think we should—make it impossible for feeble-minded and similarly degenerate men and women to have children at all, but such measures will leave the main problem untouched. Mr. Wells suggests the public endowment of motherhood as the practical solution of the difficulty, and would increase his grant proportionally to the social standing of the parent. "People of that excellent class, which spend over a hundred a year on each child, ought to get about that much from the State, and people of the class which spends five shillings a week per head on them would get about that and so on." And he affirms that the endowment of motherhood is a plain and simple idea for which the mind of the man in the street has now been "very completely prepared." Mr. Wells sees plainly enough that the only way by his method to encourage the good births relatively to the inferior is by the graded payments he speaks of. Public opinion is prepared for the thirty shillings of the Insurance Act., etc., and for the statesmanlike remissions of Income Tax granted under the Budget of 1909; but it is far from being "very completely prepared" for any such elaborate and costly scheme as Mr. Wells puts forward.

It seems to me that the only way to improve the birth supply is to raise, by every means in our power, the whole level of life throughout the community. This can be done by the simple extension of principles already admitted and practised. We come back, then, to our social programme of elevating the standard of citizenship by improving the conditions under which people live. A direct or ultimate result of every proposal that follows will be the improvement of the birth supply.

2. HEALTHY CONDITIONS.

Nature's prescription for the prevention and cure of all forms of disease is of the kind that he who runs may read. Fresh air, wholesome food, pleasant work, sufficient rest, harmonious relations with one's circumstances. Existing conditions, more especially in

our towns, compel us to violate every one of these simple rules. We breathe foul air sixteen times every minute; we take unwholesome food and drink four times every day; jarring noises are for ever filling our ears and unlovely sights our eyes. The fundamental condition of health and happiness for us as an urban community is to make our towns habitable. For two generations and more we have been busily digging and hammering and cleaning to keep our towns decent. We are getting adequate lighting, proper drainage, pure water, clean roads; we have removed the worst of the filth; improved the houses; sweetened the factories. We must go forward with this work until we have purified every cubic inch of air, opened a path for the sun's rays into every window, cleared away all the vile slums and insanitary habitations, filled the city with trees and flowers, gardens and parks, insisted on the supply of wholesome food and drink, and made every person aware that they cannot be godly unless they are clean.

Such provisions as we have already made for assistance to the mother in the hour of her trial need amplification. It is a scandal that a woman should be able to continue at her work in a factory until almost the moment of delivery, and return to it within a week or two of the birth. It is a scandal that there should be so inadequate a provision of medical and other assistance just before and after the birth of the child. It is a scandal that, owing to the lack of pure milk and other necessities, one child out of every eight in our towns, and one out of every four in our slums, should die within a year of birth. We are beginning to grapple with these evils. The Insurance Act gives its thirty shillings and medical aid. Many municipalities are instituting their Health Visitors, Baby Clinics, Schools for Mothers, Milk Depôts, etc. But we need an enormous extension of such measures before the majority of our infants reach the gates of the Elementary School free from mental and physical deficiencies.

At school, we had till recently nothing but inspection !

Inspection revealed such widespread defects that further action became necessary. Treatment is now following upon inspection, and the State has made grants to local bodies for the setting up of school clinics. Meals, clothing and boots are being provided for the necessitous children. Physical training is playing a larger part in the regular curriculum. All these measures for the physical welfare of the children are doubling the value of the Council School.

Unfortunately this bodily training is not continued during adolescence, which is the very period of life that requires it most. If the boys and girls of this country, between fourteen and eighteen, could spend a third of their time in swimming, running, gardening, dancing, drilling, etc., how enormously it would improve the physique of the young mothers and fathers, and the physical proportions of their children!

3. EDUCATION.

The Education Act of 1870 made education universal and compulsory. Under the provisions of that Act, every child in this country is secured at least a minimum of education between infancy and adolescence. The body of the Elementary Education, which is all that most of our future citizens receive, consists of the three R's. Considering the disgraceful remuneration awarded teachers in State Schools, the enormous size of the classes, the inadequacies of the curriculum, etc., etc., it is astonishing that the results of this system are so promising.

At twelve or fourteen, the boy or girl leaves the school, and, in most cases, comes into no further contact with any organisation, philanthropic, religious or educational, which would continue the training he or she was getting at school. Just at the very moment when the sex instinct becomes very prominent, when senses, emotions and passions are all abnormally keen, when circumstances are all powerful for good or for evil, the boy or girl passes out of the hands of the teachers and goes forth into the world. Instead of school there are the long hours and unsavoury influences of work-

shop and factory, providing no training for body or mind. Leisure is spent in the streets, at the Picture Palace or Music Hall, or in reading comics and bloods. The work of the elementary school is undone. The neat, industrious scholar becomes an untidy loungeur, who develops in his or her turn into an inefficient worker, a wretched father and husband or mother and wife, and a poor citizen. This "manufacture of inefficiency" will go on so long as the golden years of adolescence, which nature intended for the training of womanhood and manhood, are stolen for immediate commercial profit.

Here is the first crying need in education. We must utilise the four years between childhood and manhood in continued training for the whole community, and not merely for certain sections of it. At least we could rescue half or a third of the time of youth for this purpose. The training should be primarily directed to the building up of the physique, and should certainly include gardening. It ought to embrace instruction upon that sex instinct, on the understanding and control of which the marriage and home and children of the future depend. There could be plenty of games, the reading of standard fiction, and a wise use of the cinematograph. We should give instruction at this period on all those matters upon which these young men and women will be required to vote within a few years. A certain amount of training for work is perhaps possible in the case of boys. The business of life for most girls is being a wife and a mother, and during her youth, she ought to be trained to these activities.

Measures of this sort would do more for the welfare of this nation than any other single set of reforms. In nothing has the present Government been so deplorably at fault as in its almost total failure to improve our educational system. And if the proposed beggarly hour or two a week for technical training is the extent of their programme to meet the nation's need, whatever else they may have done, they will have

failed in the field where action is most urgently necessary.

We must not only improve our educational system for the boys and girls of the poorer classes. We must organise and pay for research. And, it seems to me, we must make our universities far more integral in our social system than they are at present. There are great possibilities in the modern town university. It ought to be the very heart and soul and mind of the town. It ought to be undertaking the investigations that are precedent to all successful civic action; it ought to stimulate thought and inspire activity, as well as provide mere routine training for workers and students. At present the English University is not hated nor admired; it is simply not taken notice of. It is not a force in the life of the town or nation. What we want is more liberal endowments; salaries adequate to attract the best men and women; and, above all, a less "academic" spirit in those who carry on the university education.

There is one pregnant development of university culture on which I would like to dwell. A movement was started some few years ago called the Workers' Educational Association, to demand and provide education for adult working men and women. The universities have responded to this movement in the most sympathetic spirit, with the result that "Tutorial Classes" have been started in connection with every University in England. The University provides the tutor and the books for these classes; the students decide on the subject they will study. Each student undertakes to attend the class for a period of three years, to come regularly, and to do such study and written work as the tutor shall require. Twenty-four meetings of the class are held every year, one each week through the winter months as a rule. The first hour is taken up with a lecture by the tutor; the second hour with open discussion. The results of such a course are remarkable. Working men and women are learning to think as well as to speak and write. This is a movement which deserves the most careful

attention from those who are interested in social and educational questions. There are already some hundred and fifty of these classes established, and the number of the "W.E.A." students is growing with great rapidity. The Board of Education has done its utmost to make the culture given through this movement deep as well as wide-spread. It seems to me to be one of the most promising instruments we have for building up the New Social Order.

4. THE REMEDY FOR UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unless there is "work for all," there will never be income for all. It is for that reason that I introduce this question at this point. The "Unemployed Problem" is one of the greatest practical urgency. Unemployment throws its shadow over the whole field of industry. No worker escapes it; most workers suffer from it periodically; an exceedingly large fraction of the workers are chronically and perpetually subject to it. In nearly all cases it means transitory or continuous deprivation of the necessities of life; the impairing of the worker's efficiency; the undermining of the mother's vitality; and the stunting of the lives of the growing children. It is impossible for us to build up a healthy state unless we can provide regular occupation for all those who are anxious for it.

To comprehend this problem of unemployment we must recognise at the outset that it is exceedingly complicated—so complicated that it is only in the last decade that we have obtained a fairly complete understanding of it.

There are three kinds of Unemployment:—

(i.) Cyclical Unemployment.—The volume of unemployment in the country varies over a period of years as trade expands and contracts. Trade is at its worst one year, slightly better the next, better still the year after, good the fourth year, booming the fifth year, booming again the next year, not quite so good in the seventh year, getting bad in the eighth, worse still in the ninth, and at its worst again at the close of the

decade. Statistics prove that it has run in cycles of that nature, roughly lasting for ten years each, for the last seventy or eighty years. We are just now at the very crest of a wave of prosperity—which is not in the slightest degree due to the Liberal Government or to Mr. Lloyd George's 1909 Budget.

(ii.) Seasonal Unemployment.—In every occupation the amount of employment varies at different seasons of the year, according to the conditions of weather, light, temperature and fashion.

(iii.) Casual Unemployment.—In addition to the unemployment caused by cyclical and seasonal variations in trade, there are, of course, numbers of workers thrown out of work for a variety of casual reasons.

There are five different kinds of unemployed:—

(i.) The men from permanent situations—*e.g.*, the butler who loses his post “on account of the Budget.”

(ii.) The men of discontinuous employment—*e.g.*, building operatives and navvies, the work of whom is periodically interrupted by spells of idleness, during which they are searching for a new job.

(iii.) The under-employed—*e.g.*, the “docker,” who never gets perhaps more than three or four days' work in the week, or the ordinary “casual” about town. Very large numbers of women belong to this class.

(iv.) The unemployables who can't work, because of physical and mental defects.

(v.) The unemployables who won't work, because of moral defects.

The whole of the machinery for dealing with this evil of unemployment must be built upon the Labour Exchanges. In relation to each of the five classes of unemployed, the Labour Exchange has a function. The men from permanent situations, who have a specialised skill, by registering at the Exchange, which is in touch with all the other Exchanges, have the maximum chance of getting a new job. The men of discontinuous employment, through the offices of the

Exchange, have far more chance of getting continuous work than previously ; they can even arrange for their new job before they finish the old. When the potentiality of the Exchange is fully developed, it seems certain that a great amount of the under-employment and casual employment round docks, etc., can be abolished ; a smaller number of workers can be given regular employment at the cost of squeezing out some of those now under-employed. And, finally, the Labour Exchanges will, when they are more generally used, reveal to us both types of unemployable. The man whom employers repeatedly reject, or the man who repeatedly rejects employers, will become known to the officials of the Exchange, and marked off as not fitted for the regular Labour Market.

This use of the Labour Exchanges obviously does not solve the problem of unemployment. It secures regular work to most of the workers, but at the cost of leaving a small surplus of men and women with no employment at all. The next question, then, is, how to absorb this surplus.

(a) We must reduce the hours of labour. I shall discuss the larger aspects of this suggestion later on. Here it is only necessary to note that if we reduce the working day of eight men from ten hours to eight, we shall, other things being equal, give ten men work in place of eight. There is room for a great absorption of labour into the transport industries, into shop work, into agriculture and other industries, where the hours worked, as a rule, are unmercifully long.

(b) We must, above all, reduce the hours of juvenile labour. Emphasis has already been laid upon the urgency of this reform as a preliminary to an adequate system of national education. But it is also urgent as a means of providing work for adult workers. Most of the work of to-day is unskilled, and can be done as easily and well by juveniles as by adults. Employers use the cheaper labour to the full extent of the supply. The removal of each boy or girl from the labour market would be met by the absorption of an unemployed adult.

(c) We must make public provision for women left with children, through the death or desertion of the husband. Under existing circumstances, such women compete in the Labour Market, accept low wages, turn men out of work, and leave their children at home neglected. The State would find it cheaper to do what the more enlightened Boards of Guardians are already doing—give each such woman a widowhood pension on condition that she stays at home and looks after her children. Proper machinery should be set up to make the defaulting husband, in case of desertion, pay a part or the whole of the pension.

These measures will, it is believed, absorb most of the unemployed at times of normal or good trade. Further provision must be made for the few worst years of the trade-cycle. The remedy here suggested, hinges upon the fact that the Central Government and Local Bodies have become exceedingly large employers of labour. Orders for public work, moreover, need not in many cases be carried out with such immediacy as those given to private firms. If Parliament would each year ear-mark a few million pounds' worth of work, save this up, and put it upon the market when unemployment was getting serious, this would provide honest occupation for hundreds of thousands. In the same way Local Bodies can hold back the making of a new road, the creation of new buildings, etc., for a year or two, and so supplement the efforts of the central departments. Such measures, which are already contemplated and partially in operation, would reduce the unemployed problem to small proportions in times of good and bad trade. State Insurance, the Training of workers whose trade is gone for Small Holdings, Emigration, etc., would leave us with no problem at all, except that of the unemployables who can't work, and the unemployables who won't work. Their case will be considered later.

5. THE MINIMUM WAGE.

At the present time only a small minority of people in this wealthy country possess an income sufficient to

provide themselves with comfort. The fundamental cause of unrest is the desire of the poorer classes in the community to obtain larger incomes. The motives prompting this desire are bad as well as good, but it will be admitted that a sufficient income is indispensable to healthy, happy and even virtuous life. I am certain that until this desire is satisfied, there will never be an end to Social Unrest.

Could Society secure to every one of its members an adequate income it would put an end to an incredible amount of human suffering. It would lead to an improvement in the physique, capacity and morals of all classes in Society. It would increase the productive power of the nation, not only by improving the efficiency of the workers, but by setting a premium upon enterprise and energy, and so getting rid of those incompetent employers who can only keep going by sweating their workpeople. Perhaps its greatest virtue would be that it would enable us to abolish all these despicable State doles and degrading private charities—Old Age Pensions, Free Meals, Holiday Funds, Special Collections, etc., etc., along with all the machinery of inspection and officialism that they necessitate. I believe in the State making its provision for the great public services of Health and Education, and for the general regulation of the nation's concerns, but what we want is a nation of men and women who are able and free to provide for their own needs.

The phrase "Minimum Wage" is necessarily vague. The Trade Union Minimum differs from the trade to trade, and within the same industry from one locality to another; and it differs again markedly from what the State is trying to establish in the sweated industries. Such differences are inevitable. The Minimum must vary. But we ought to see to it that all workers in this country, in return for satisfactory work, have a sufficient income to provide the necessities and comforts of life for themselves and those economically dependent upon them.

I believe this will only come when the workers are better educated and more efficient in their work than

they are now ; but it should be noticed that we have already established minimums in many industries. The Trade Unions, backed by the State, have their minimum rates of pay in all the skilled and in some of the unskilled industries of the country. All State employees, and most employees of local bodies are paid "Trade Union" rates. In all public contracts the Trade Union rates are usually insisted upon. Both political parties are proposing to give a minimum wage to the agricultural labourers, who are more numerous than the workers engaged in any other one industry. Most important of all in its probable results, is the establishment, by this Government, of Trade Boards to secure minimum rates of pay in sweated industries. Four trades (slop-tailoring, paper-box making, chain-making and lace finishing) were originally brought under review. In them all, substantial increments of wages have been secured, and apparently everybody concerned has benefited (including employers and customers). Fresh trades are being included, and the construction of the Act makes it possible to extend its provisions to other occupations without further legislation. There is no reason why this machinery should not be utilised (as in Victoria) to extend the principle of a minimum wage to all the industries of the country.

6. LEISURE.

It may pay an individual employer to overwork his hands. It does not pay the community. Even from a purely business standpoint, it does not pay. Macaulay puts the case in as masterly a fashion as anyone will ever put it :—" I do not mean to say that a man will not produce more in a week by working seven days than by working six days. But I very much doubt whether, at the end of a year, he will generally have produced more by working seven days a week than by working six days a week ; and I firmly believe that at the end of twenty years he will have produced much less by working seven days a week than by working six days a week. . . . Rely on it, that intense labour, beginning too early in life, continued too long every

day, stunting the growth of the mind, leaving no time for healthful exercise, no time for intellectual culture, must impair all those high qualities which have made our country great. . . . Never will I believe that what makes a population stronger and healthier and wiser and better, can ultimately make it poorer. . . . If ever we are forced to yield the foremost place among commercial nations, we shall yield it to some people pre-eminently vigorous in body and mind."

But there are stronger arguments than the ledger-accounts. Take any view of the universe that we will, and we reach the same conclusion that man's hands were given him for other things than mere labouring and money-making. At the very least the worker is also a father and a husband (or a mother and a wife) and a citizen. And we may hope that in the future, he or she will also be something of an artist and a mystic. If we are to have promising homes and a properly governed State, we must give the heads of the households time for their domestic duties, and the citizens time for the study and discussion of public affairs. Seeing also that modern conditions of labour offer little or no opportunity for culture through work, we must give the artistic and spiritual nature in man the opportunity of development outside working hours. It is deplorably true that great masses of people know of nothing better in which to employ their spare time than in coarse and even bestial pleasures. That is because the education of the people has been neglected. And we can put against it the fact that an enormous and apparently increasing number of working men and women find it almost impossible to educate themselves because of the exigencies of earning their daily bread.

The reduction of hours has been proceeding throughout the century. The ancient twelve-hour day gave place to the ten, and the ten-hour day is giving place to the eight. The State has been as active for women and children as Trade Unionism has been for men. In most public employment, including the contracts let out to private firms, reasonable hours are stipulated. Latterly the State has cut down the hours

of shop assistants; and under the Trade Boards Act, already referred to, hours may be overhauled as well as wages. Thus the State is already committed to a policy which seems to me vital to our progress in material as well as in moral and æsthetic things.

The power over nature which steam and electricity have given us, ought to make it possible in coming years to reduce the actual toil of the community to a much smaller minimum than appears necessary at present. Mill believed that machinery had never lightened the day's toil of a single human being, but he (and more especially those quoting him) fail to realise that machinery has satisfied (with the same amount of man's work) a thousand needs that have arisen in the community for decencies, pleasures, comforts, and luxuries that were only mentioned in the fairy-books of our near ancestors. In the future we want to enjoy all these benefits that machinery can give us, but we ought also to see to it that a half of the national energy does not go to the production of worthless and superfluous trifles; that our wealth-producing is properly organised; and that every possible step is taken to organise research and improve our methods so, as to effect a steady reduction in the hours of labour as the feeling of the community demands more leisure.

7. FAILURES.

No matter how complete our national arrangements may be to secure for the whole community a healthy environment, education, income, and leisure, we shall still find a certain number failing to take advantage of these provisions to reach a proper standard of citizenship. There will still be the "born-tired," the criminal, the feeble-minded, the sick.

Existing arrangements are not satisfactory for the treatment of these classes. There is a tendency to relegate them to charity or workhouse or prison without any attempt at just or appropriate treatment. We find it, as things are, almost impossible to elicit the cause of failure. We do not know if a man steals because he is unfortunate or because he is weakminded, or because he is wicked, or because he has a philosophic

bias against the existing social order. We do not know if a man begs because he cannot get work or because he is a wastrel. And if he is a wastrel, we wonder sometimes if it is his own fault or ours. And we never shall be sure until we have provided such social conditions that every person has a chance to become healthy and capable. If people fail then—and I, for one, do not believe many will fail—we shall have a possibility of knowing why misfortune has come and helping them back once more to self-control and freedom.

For those who suffer physical or mental defects, the State will be obliged to provide medical and institutional treatment as it is doing at present. For such "passive" failures as the man who refuses work as well as for such "active" failures as the thief or the murderer, what we need is some system of moral training under compulsory detention. Experiments already made with Detention Colonies substantiate the belief that almost every man can be converted into a good citizen by appropriate treatment. If the hard monotony of the colony-discipline were slowly but continuously relieved in response to good conduct, and finally terminated when the subject had proved his right to freedom, he would have every reason for self-improvement and none for that callous indifference or inhuman despair that naturally characterise unemployable and criminal at the present day.

One of the dangers of hasty and opportunist legislation is that it makes no careful provision for those who fail to take the right advantage, or for those who succeed in taking a wrong advantage, of its provisions. This is a grave danger, for in the long run, legislation which weakens the personal responsibility of the citizens will sap the foundations of the State.

(VI.) A FINAL WORD ON HUMAN NATURE.

When a young enthusiast for social progress has wrestled long and relentlessly with the pessimism of some aged sceptic, he is apt to be met by a knowing smile and this remark—given with an air of disposing

of the whole question—"You can't change human nature." It is often voiced by a person who, not a minute previous, has declared that such and such an Act of Parliament will "undermine the self-reliance of the people," or "make the workers discontented"!

It is true that the elemental constituents of human nature cannot be eradicated—the hunger for food, for love, and for God. But the balance of these three fundamental needs can most assuredly be altered. In the past the hunger for food has been predominant. As we leave our animal ancestry farther behind us, the spiritual nature progressively asserts itself and the hunger for God grows, until it subdues to itself the physical appetites. Human nature in us is far more refined than it was in our savage ancestors; it is more refined than it was in our great-grandfathers; and it depends on ourselves and the laws we make whether it becomes finer still in the oncoming generation.

A good Act of Parliament is one which assists the refinement of human nature. A bad Act of Parliament is one which coarsens it. If we pass legislation which undermines individual responsibility, no matter how pressing the immediate need it meets, we are in the long run destroying the commonwealth. We shall be making citizens with weaker wills and lazier intellects; they will have enfeebled children; and quickly or slowly, but surely, decline will set in.

On the other hand, in so far as we brace the individual will and stimulate personal responsibility by legislation, we shall ennoble the race and increase the general vigour.

I claim that the measures suggested in the latter part of this pamphlet are such as will have these salutary effects; and I would like to emphasise that contention by a quotation from Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, to whose work this pamphlet lies in heavy debt:

"It is, moreover, an inevitable complement of this corporate responsibility, and of the recognition of the indissoluble partnership [between the State and the individual], that new and enlarged obligations, unknown in a state of *laissez faire*, are placed upon the

individual—such as the obligation of the parent to keep his children in health, and to send them to school at the time and in the condition insisted upon; the obligation of the young persons to be well-conducted and to learn; the obligation of the adult not to infect his environment, and to submit when required to hospital treatment. To enforce these obligations—all new since 1834—upon the individual citizen, experience shows that some other pressure on his volition is required than merely leaving him alone. Hence the community, by combination of the principles of Curative Treatment, Universal Provision and Compulsion, deliberately weights ‘the alternatives,’ in the guise of a series of experiments upon volition. The individual retains as much freedom of choice as—if not more than—he enjoyed before. But the father finds it made more easy for him to get his children educated, and made more disagreeable for him to neglect them. It is made more easy for the mother to keep her infants in health, and made more disagreeable for her to let them die. The man suffering from disease finds it made more easy for him to get cured without infecting his neighbours, and more disagreeable for him not to take all the necessary precautions. The labour exchanges and the farm colonies aim at making it more easy for the wage-earner to get a situation; perhaps the reformatory establishment, with powers of detention, is needed to make it more disagreeable for him not to accept and retain that situation.” This “doctrine of mutual obligation,” Mr. and Mrs. Webb refer to as the “fundamental principle that social health is not a matter for the individual alone, nor for the Government alone, but depends essentially on the joint responsibility of the individual and the community for the maintenance of a definite minimum of civilised life.”

Wise laws can unquestionably build up the citizenship of a society, but it cannot be too firmly or too repeatedly urged that we can never get more out of Parliament than we put into it. Parliament is only a convenient machine for making social arrangements.

It is not a lucky tub into which we can throw our ballot-papers and fish out brand-new citizens. If we are an effete nation, all the political devices we can elaborate will never save us. And if we are still "mewing our mighty youth," we shall survive and remedy all defects in our legislative arrangements. This needs insisting upon, because many people think that human nature can be changed in the twinkling of an eye at the blast of the trumpets that shall usher in the Socialist Utopia. When the revolution is accomplished, the forces of capitalism routed, the old institutions torn up, and everybody provided with cakes and ale, will Mr. Smith be any the less thick-skulled than he was before the event? Will Mr. Brown be any the less weak-minded? Will Jones be more industrious? Or Robinson more honest? It will be a wonderful revolution indeed if it can suddenly purify the very blood that is in men's veins and transmute their leaden instincts into golden conduct. You and I know that the processes of Nature countenance no such sudden transformation. Nature will not jump. She will modify the thick skulls and the clumsy hands and the unseeing eyes only slowly and gradually, over long periods of time, and in response to the aspiration and effort of the man to whom the skull and eyes and hands belong.

PART III.

England During the War.

1. THE COST OF LIVING.

Probably no result of the War has been so widely felt as the continuous rise in the cost of living. Owing to the increased cost of raw materials, components and all the adjuncts of manufacture, the increased cost of both sea and land transport, the increased interest on capital borrowed, the increased cost of insurance, the increased delays and difficulties in getting both labour and material, the rise in the rates of wages, and the inflation of the currency, prices went up rapidly and steadily until the autumn of 1917. In the last eight months elaborate and generally approved State control has been fairly successful in preventing a further rise in the cost of living, though it has not reduced it. There is no likelihood that it will be substantially reduced either during the War or for some years afterwards. Basing its conclusions upon the investigation of 1914 family budgets, the Board of Trade estimated that on an average each working-class home in 1904 devoted 22s. 6d. per week to expenditure on food. (Bread and flour, 3s. 7d.; meat and fish, 5s. 5½d.; bacon, 11½d.; eggs, 1s.; fresh milk, 1s. 3½d.; cheese, 6½d.; butter, 2s. 1½d.; potatoes, 11d.; vegetables and fruit, 11d.; currants and raisins, 2¾d.; rice, tapioca and oatmeal, 6d.; tea, 1s. 1½d.; coffee and cocoa, 3¾d.; sugar, 11¾d.; jam, marmalade, treacle and syrup, 6½d.; pickles and condiments, 3¼d.; other items, 1s. 9½d.) In July, 1914, both in large towns containing over 50,000 inhabitants, and in small towns containing under 50,000, these same articles cost 25s. On August 8th, they cost in the large towns, 29s.; in the small, 28s. 9d.

In July, 1915,	large towns,	33/9;	small,	32/6.
„ July, 1916	„ „	41/3;	„	39/3.
„ July, 1917,	„ „	52/3;	„	49/9.
„ Aug., 1917,	„ „	51/3;	„	49/6.
„ Sept., 1917,	„ „	52/3;	„	50/6.
„ Oct., 1917,	„ „	50/6;	„	48/3.
„ Nov., 1917,	„ „	52/6;	„	50/3.
„ Dec., 1917,	„ „	52/3;	„	50/3.
„ Jan., 1918,	„ „	52/9;	„	50/6.
„ Feb., 1918,	„ „	53/3;	„	50/9.
„ Mar., 1918,	„ „	53/-;	„	50/6.
„ Apr., 1918,	„ „	52/6;	„	50/6.

The cost of living, of course, includes other items besides food, such as house rent, clothing, fares, amusements, Trade Union and Friendly Society subscriptions, tobacco, alcoholic drinks, etc. Some of these items have not risen in price, and others have risen less than food. So that, while the cost of food may have risen since the outbreak of war by over 100 per cent., the cost of living has only risen 70 or 75 per cent. Unfortunately it is the poorest families who have to devote the largest proportion of their earnings to food; and in their case the cost of living may well have risen by 80 or 90 per cent. Latterly, moreover—especially in the last twelve months—we have been paying more, and at the same time receiving less, for our money! There has been deterioration in many kinds of food; more inconvenience in travelling; less reading matter in the newspapers; inferior talent in places of amusements, etc. As regards many commodities there has been actual failure of supply. Nevertheless, it is probably true, that the community as a whole was never so well provisioned in things essential to existence as at the beginning of the fifth year of the War.

2. WAGES.

Money wages have risen considerably only in industries so essential for military purposes (*i.e.*, engineering, munition making, mining, ship-building, railway service) that the workers have been able to “make

terms." These comprise fewer than a third of the whole. For the other two thirds of the manual workers, as well as for the bulk of the "minor professionals," there has been scarcely more than a nominal rise in income. The average rise in money earnings per worker (including remuneration for overtime) is estimated at 80 per cent., or about 18s. per week. Even if this increase in money income represented an increase in real income, it would be a dubious compensation for the extra strain, interference with domestic life, forfeiture of leisure for recreation, study, social activities, etc., involved in its earning. But, in actual fact, the increase of money wages has been commensurate with the increased cost of living only in the case of perhaps a 10 per cent. minority of skilled engineers, certain unskilled workers transferred to munition making, and so on. Had it not been for the stereotyping of house-rents, the increase in family prosperity by the entry into wage-earning of children, aged people and wives; the grants of separation allowances and pensions; the reduction of unemployment to a minimum, and the recent control of prices, the decrease in real wages would long since have produced "Labour Troubles," that would have made well-nigh impossible the further prosecution of the War.

3. LABOUR.

At first by voluntary, then by quasi-compulsory, and finally by altogether compulsory methods, some 5,000,000 men—the bulk of all the physically fit men we possess—have been torn from the farms, the mines, the railways, the factories, the docks, the shops, the offices and even the schools and the churches and absorbed into the Army. Before the War there were some 14,000,000 "occupied males" in the United Kingdom; at the present time, even allowing for the re-entry into industry of the aged, the infirm and the discharged soldiers, as well as for the influx of Belgians, Canadians and others, there are certainly not more than 10,000,000. The passage of men and women from their normal occupations into war-work has been scarcely less extensive, amounting to perhaps 3,000,000

men and 1,000,000 women. The mass of people, however, including not only those of the female sex and those of the male sex who are under 18 and over 41, but also not a few men of military age, are doing what they were before the War. The bulk of the children are still in the schools; the bulk of the housewives are still in their homes; the business men, the farmers, the doctors, the civil servants, the teachers, the ministers of religion, the skilled workers, and many others, are for the most part carrying on "Business as usual." Yet every routine has been broken; every occupation has been transformed; even the housewife finds herself face to face with entirely new conditions of household management, and even the child at school is learning its lessons under war-time educational conditions from the effects of which—unless they are repaired by organised education in adolescence and adult life—we shall suffer for fifty years.

4. CAPITAL.

A further large obvious consequence of the War has been the steadily intensifying exhaustion of the nation's capital. In the years of peace we were saving, *i.e.*, creating additional capital, at the rate of £400,000,000 per annum, and on the eve of war, our total accumulations amounted to £12,000,000,000. Foreign and colonial investments were estimated at £4,000,000,000, and we were lending year by year some £200,000,000 to other countries. These investments overseas gave us the power to exact "tribute" from abroad, as interest, to the extent of £200,000,000 per annum. This sum reached us as imports, and meant that the people of this country, without contingent labour on their own part, enjoyed goods and services to that amount. During the War we have sold an enormous quantity of foreign and colonial securities, thus surrendering our right to receive the corresponding amount of tribute; and, worse still, by extensive borrowing abroad, we have laid ourselves under the obligation for an indefinite period of paying interest (*i.e.*, doing service or exporting goods) to other countries. In addition, of course, we have incurred a colossal debt to investors

within our own shores. Summarising, we may say that during the War we have not only put by nothing for further production, but we have created a total debt, which, even if the fighting ceases during 1918, will be not less than £6,000,000,000 with an annual interest charge of £300,000,000.

One hears people say glibly that they "will never believe again that there is not money enough for social reforms." *Before* the War, it is true, the resources were available; but we lacked the political sagacity to perceive it. After the War, what should have been our capital, not only for national reconstruction, but for productive enterprise, will be scrap-iron and smoke. While it is possible, moreover, to secure money for national purposes in time of war, it may well prove impossible to secure it for national purposes in time of peace.

The shortage of capital is one of the most serious aspects of the future. We can, however, be less pessimistic over other phases of the after-war situation. Four years of fighting have not deprived us of an inch of soil, nor robbed us of our coal, our water power, our communications, or our seaports. Our financial and industrial organisation remains intact, and because of the unprecedented stress through which it has successfully passed, we feel more confident in it than ever before. Our merchant shipping has, of course, suffered exceedingly heavy losses; to the vessels destroyed by enemy mines, raiders and submarines, we must add those normally "obsolescing," those depreciating in enemy harbours and those deteriorating in military use. However active may be our shipyards, it seems certain that we shall find ourselves at the outbreak of peace short of our requirements by some millions of tons. Largely as a consequence of the shipping shortage, we have already "lost" a fraction of our foreign commerce; to what extent such loss will be permanent depends upon the duration and outcome of the War.

Considered in relation to the scale of the military effort, the losses in capital, shipping and foreign trade are trifling. The astounding thing is the toughness

and elasticity of the economic system. The War has not given the death-blow to a single great industry; on the contrary, it is beginning already to give new life to the long-languishing industry of agriculture, and promises to have further wholesome effects in stimulating the production of essential things (like houses), while forcing us to have done with the manufacture of luxuries and trash. By the installation of new machinery into factories; by the abandonment on the part of both management and men of long-established prejudices, habits, customs, regulations and methods, thwarting production; by the partial introduction of the methods of "scientific management"; by intensity of effort and by national co-operation—in spite of a thousand local and temporary failures—the community has been able to abstract several million persons from productive employment and yet go on securing to its members almost as large and continuous a stream of necessities, comforts and even luxuries as before, and concurrently to provide munitions of war of every conceivable character, sufficient for its own needs and for those of half the world besides.

It is highly undesirable that certain of the expedients adopted during the War should become integral to our after-war economic organisation. We want less female and juvenile labour, not more; if we are to have "scientific managers"; and if the State is to control scientific management, we must not have autocratic industry, it must control it without recourse to methods made in Prussia. To what extent the titanic production of war-time can be carried on into the coming peace (as it will need to be) depends almost entirely upon the human factors involved. It is within our power to make good the shortage of capital. It is of the adequacy of the supplies of self-restraint, "economic chivalry," and statesmanship, of which one is apprehensive.

5. STATE CONTROL.

Taking the term Socialism to mean broadly the supersession of private interests by the public interest, it needs no argument to prove that we have become in

the last four years, a highly socialised community. It is true that private interests, times without number, have thwarted the public interest; it is even arguable that what has appeared to be the public interest has really been the interest of certain over-wealthy, powerful and private-spirited sections of society; but it seems to me unquestionable that just as the War has been accepted by the nation as a whole, so, correspondingly, the bulk of the existing State control has been demanded by the community.

Prior to the War, we were, most of us, only vaguely and intermittently aware that there was such a thing as a partnership between ourselves and the State. To-day the State presses unmistakably upon us in every relation of our lives, even the most intimate; it decides where and what shall be our labour; tells us what we shall eat and what we shall drink; by its advertisements, propaganda and censorship, markedly influences our thinking; ordains which of us shall live at home and which of us shall go forth to face death in France or Flanders; arrogates to itself even the right to decide what is acceptable to our conscience. Several million men are being entirely fed, clothed and sheltered by the State, several million other men and women in factories, railways, government departments, etc., are completely, or almost completely, in State service and pay; millions more, *e.g.*, war-widows and discharged soldiers, are maintained entirely or largely by State allowances and pensions.

An immense fraction of the community is thus directly dependent upon the State for very existence. The rest of us continue to exist only under conditions which are collectively prescribed. The State not only runs the Army and the Navy, but in order to support them also possesses or effectually controls practically the whole of our productive and much of our social organisation. Ships and ship-building, land and agriculture, the larger forms of manufacture, coal mines and the supply of power, light and heat, railways and all other forms of communication, building and housing, the supply of food and drink, facilities for amusement and education—it is impossible to think of any

great aspect under which the nation's life may be regarded where State control has not become dominant.

A Bishop has said that we have had an experience of "Socialism" and we like it. I believe he would much more accurately have expressed the general feeling had he said, "We have had an experience of Socialism and we don't like it." Many, and perhaps the most unwelcome, of the measures to which the Government has been driven are so intimately connected with belligerency, that they will automatically disappear with the signing of Peace. Peace, however, will have its problems no less formidable than those presented by the War; and nothing is more certain in the coming years than the continuance of State control as general and as intimate, if different in its application and incidence, as that to which we have become accustomed. Whether we like it or not, we shall have to accept it as indispensable in the public interest. The longer the War continues, the more difficult will be competitive individualist organisation in the subsequent years of Peace, and the more probable will become the rather premature prophecy of H. G. Wells, that "... out of the ruins of the nineteenth century system of private capitalism this war has smashed for ever, there will arise, there does even now arise, in this strange scaffolding of national munitions factories and hastily nationalised public services, the framework of a new economic and social order based upon national ownership and national service. Nominally it will be [in fifteen or twenty years' time] little more of a Socialist state than it is to-day, but, as a matter of fact, the ships, the railways, the coal and metal supply, the great metal industries, much engineering and most agriculture, will be more or less completely under collective ownership and certainly very completely under collective control."

6. CAPITALISM.

Is it true that the War has "smashed private capitalism for ever?" Are both profiteering and legitimate profit-making (to employ Mr. Lloyd George's categories) in process of speedy extinction? By many able

observers it is being argued that they are. The employer has become a civil servant; after the experiences of the War, we are told, he will be more ready to undertake national service without stopping to ask "How much will you give me?" He is already shewing himself more willing to consider his workpeople as human beings; great numbers, especially of the younger employers, are as averse as their employees from the anti-social methods by which their fathers shamelessly made their piles. A pamphlet entitled: "Some Problems of Modern Industry" by W. L. Hichens, Chairman of "Camell Laird's," indicates the new spirit which is beginning to animate the employing class:—"Unless industry is really recognised as primarily a national service, in which each individual is fulfilling his function to the best of his ability for the sake of the community, in which private gain is subordinated to the public good, in which, in a word, we carry out our duty towards our neighbour, unless we build on this foundation, there is no hope of creating the House Beautiful."

It is, unfortunately, also possible to make out a case for the view that, so far from the State having destroyed private capitalism, private capitalism (playing the trick that the Tudors played with Parliament) has in actual fact merely disguised, and therefore protected its operations by itself controlling the State, and that the capitalist-employers in the mass are resolved not to yield a tittle of their real power to the public or to the worker except under compulsion. It is the belief of many thinkers too eminent to be regarded as mere "rebels," that the plutocratic classes were never so effectually sovereign over the destinies of the country as at the present day. It is pointed out that they have surrendered no privilege that they will not automatically regain on the cessation of hostilities; that they are as a class richer in 1918 than they were in 1914; that they are better organised than ever to fortify their own interests. The admitted "change of heart" that is going on among the master-class may be ascribed to fear rather than to love. And even the employers who sincerely profess the idealism

of the extract we have quoted, do not seem to have learned the lesson which sooner or later every employer will have to learn :—that his workpeople are his *equals* ; that he is their servant as well as the servant of the community, and that his duty is to ask himself whether, if it came to a vote, he would be chosen by his workers as the fittest man to run the business.

In 1916, Mr. Hichens remarked : “ All suggestions which have for their object the entry of the workmen into the management of the business should be put on one side. As in the Army and the Navy, so in business, you must have one side ordering and controlling and the other obeying.”* That philosophy is not in its essentials repudiated in the 1918 pamphlet. The “ constitutional question in industry ” is admittedly, still unsolved ; and the experts among the democratic Socialists differ considerably in their theoretical solutions. But when Mr. Hichens speaks of the obligation of the men to obey, he seems to be voicing a spirit of autocracy which is still that of the bulk of employers. Democracy cannot get along without obedience to properly instituted authorities. To admit that, however, is not to admit the employer’s right to assert : “ This is *my* business and I’m going to run it as I like.”

7. THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

Upon Labour, and particularly upon the Trade Unionism (of which, when talking of Labour, we generally think), the effects of the War are not easily ascertainable. On paper, there is not a shred of doubt that Labour is weaker than it ever was before. Trade Unionism has patriotically surrendered regulations built up by a century of effort for the protection, not only of the Standard Rate and the Normal Day, but of the elementary rights of combination and freedom to refuse a bad bargain. Further, by the Munitions of War Acts, 1916 to 1917, nearly 4,000,000 workpeople have been prohibited (1) from striking ; (2) from leaving their employment without the employer’s permission, no matter what the reasons ; (3) from disobeying all rules of the shop. Meanwhile, the employer

* *Daily Express*, October 17th, 1916.

is not bound to find them continuous work or even subsistence, and may dismiss them at will. Munitions tribunals enforce the law by fines deducted from wages. Government arbitrators decide absolutely whether advances of wages are to be granted or not; piecework is imposed at arbitrarily fixed rates. Work has been rearranged so as to open skilled jobs to unskilled workers; semi-automatic lathes and other machines which do not require "skilled" manipulators have been multiplied. These changes have facilitated the introduction of several hundred thousand unskilled (and mostly non-unionist) workers into skilled industries. The concessions made are sufficient, if not in some form reclaimed, to undermine the Trade Union Movement. In the trades affected, they include the right of entry of unskilled outsiders (including women and boys) to skilled work; indefinite overtime at the fiat of the employer, indefinite speeding up without increase of pay; piecework rates with neither collective bargaining nor fixed scale; compulsory continuance in a job; compulsory arbitration, etc. It is true that the State has pledged itself a hundred times over to restore Trade Union conditions after the War, but in the new world of the coming peace it may be impossible to fulfil that pledge, however strenuous and sincere may be the effort.

On the other hand, it may be argued, that, whatever the appearances, Labour is in reality much stronger to-day than before the War. Multitudes of new members have been enrolled in the Unions, and the Labour movement is far better organised both industrially and politically. No great Conservative or Liberal Party, nor any Coalition Party with a coherent organisation, a programme and a known following, seems to be emerging from the War. The new Labour Party, on the other hand, in its Declaration of War Aims and in its Report on Reconstruction has a programme which bids fair to become the accepted political and economic faith of English Democracy; and promises to have the adherence of the mass, not only of the Trade Unionists and Co-operators, but of the returning soldiers, as well as of the more public-spirited men and women in the professions and in business.

PART IV.

England After the War.*

1. IF THE WAR GOES ON.

In the notes that follow, it is assumed that the War will be ending in the near future. Should it continue far into 1919 or beyond, prediction becomes increasingly hazardous. But it would seem irrefutable that every month of war will make subsequent recovery more difficult; that too many months of it may make recovery in our own time well-nigh impossible. Each year will add two or three thousand millions of pounds to the war debt; the amount of capital available later on for productive enterprise will shrink and shrink; there will be a growing probability—amounting in time to a certainty—of financial and commercial catastrophe. At the same time, we shall be losing year by year an ever larger number of the most valuable of our brain and hand workers by disease, maiming and death, to say nothing of undermining the nerves and capacity of a multitude more; thus making the labour force upon which recovery depends smaller in quantity and inferior in quality. More serious still is the “unrest” inevitably accumulating in the hearts both of the

*Students who wish to make a thorough study of after war problems should get “Great Britain After the War,” by Sidney Webb and Arnold Freeman, described upon the fly-leaf as “Being facts and figures, quotations and queries, suggestions and forecasts, designed to help individual inquirers and study circles in considering what will happen after the War with regard to Trade, Employment, Wages, Prices, Trade unionism, Co-operation, Women’s Labour, Foreign Commerce, the Railways, the Coal supply, Education, Taxation, etc.” From this book is borrowed the list of books dealing with after-war problems given on page 101.

soldiers and the war-workers. It is one thing to overcome "unrest" while we are at war; it will be another thing when peace is declared, and every month by which the War is prolonged will make the subsequent reactions more unmanageable. Even if demobilisation does not resolve itself into a chaotic stampede, "Labour Troubles" may come so overwhelmingly as to make commercial and industrial reconstruction beyond our power. "Famine" is only a word now. "Pestilence" is only a word. They are words used by pacifists to frighten us into a premature peace. Still, if the War goes on—

2. DEMOBILISATION.

Into a world disorganised as never before by the transition from war-industry to peace-industry there are to be absorbed some 4,000,000 men from the Army and, perhaps, as many men and women from munitions and other trades dependent upon war conditions. This is a problem more difficult, perhaps, than any which the War has given the politicians to solve. It could not be solved had we not had a few years to prepare a "Peace Book"; and even if the official schemes are adequately elaborated, the outlook for Demobilisation is not re-assuring. To prevent irremediable confusion, the Government must resolutely insist upon gradual disbandment; but to maintain the required discipline when fighting has stopped will not be easy! In the interval between the cessation of hostilities and the return home of the men, employers, eager to seize the first chance of doing business, may well take on numbers of hands who will later on be ousted (or refuse to be ousted) by ex-soldiers. Many employers will not give up without a murmur their cheap female labour and their semi-skilled men; nor will these newly-introduced workers relinquish without a struggle the territories they have conquered. In countless cases the taking on of a soldier will mean the extrusion of an emergency or substitute worker. Meantime, the avenues for employment will be constantly opening and closing, according to the ever-varying conditions of the

Labour market and the unpredictable transformations of trade. And on the other hand, many will accept jobs only to abandon them, for the War has left multitudes of men undecided as to what work they mean to do. Finally, *employment must be provided on suitable terms*. The after-War race of workers will not meekly acquiesce in wages, hours and other conditions yielding them satisfaction no greater—or even less than—they enjoyed before they entered the Army.

3. THE STATE OF TRADE.

The success with which the nation demobilises and makes its way through the first year or two of Peace will depend not a little upon the state of trade. In their forecasts of what this will be, the prophets differ. "Probably we shall have a period of great industrial activity when peace is proclaimed," says Emil Davies, "but I cannot prophesy how long it will last. I have consulted people who claim to be authorities, and they place the period of intense prosperity and activity as being much longer than I should have placed it. They say it may be three, four or five years, followed by a period of dreadful depression." Arthur Henderson, on the other hand, has declared: "For unless all experience is misleading, the first years of peace will be a time of grave depression, affecting not one or two trades, but the whole of our industrial system."

Prediction—especially of this wholesale kind—is somewhat futile, for we do not know how long the War will last; what international economic arrangements will be established; what supplies there will be available of shipping, raw materials and foodstuffs; nor what will be the temper of the employers and the employed.

As long as the War lasts, neutral countries (to whom we may for the present add the United States and Japan) will get an increasing share of trade; and the longer the War lasts, the more difficult it will be to re-capture the lost markets. Enemy countries, whether included in a League of Nations or excluded by hostile tariffs, will hardly be profitable customers for

many years. Allied countries will, no doubt, make demands upon British manufactures and materials to enable them to restore their wasted territories, but they will assuredly not take from England anything they can conveniently supply for themselves, and most possibly all of them will be poverty-stricken. It looks as if the outbreak of peace, even if it offers opportunities to certain industries, will reveal the nation denuded of a considerable fraction of its pre-war trade. At the same time, whatever may be the ultimate decision respecting international armaments, there will be an enormous reduction in the demand which the State itself is now making for everything that may be comprehensively included in the category of "munitions of war." Instead of giving orders every day for several million pounds' worth of goods, the Government will suddenly ask only for some hundreds of thousands of pounds' worth. This will affect every trade ministering directly or indirectly to the support of the Army and the Navy : not only munition-making proper, but engineering, all the metal trades, coal-mining, transport, textile manufacture, leather trades, shipping, agricultural produce—indeed, the whole of the industrial system.

There will be partial compensation for the reduction in the demand of foreign countries and of the Government upon the trading interests in the inevitable increase in private orders of every kind and size. In reaction from the economy inflicted upon us by the War, as well as in order to regain our pre-war standard of life, we shall all of us begin to demand—according to our several incomes—more "necessaries" and more "extras." The business men themselves will at the same time be giving their orders to one another for machinery and appliances of every kind, as well as for building, repairing, cleaning, and so on. But even at its maximum, such a private demand must be inadequate—altogether inadequate—to set and keep going every part of the industrial machine. In order to make good the loss of overseas trade, no less than to absorb the returning soldiers into productive employ-

ment, it would seem inevitable that the State should itself supply a peace-demand for goods and services equal to, or exceeding, that put forward during the War. The State must maintain—in fact, intensify—its control over the industries of the country. In no other way can we recover from the effects of the War, either industrially or socially. By injuries and by death we shall have lost, perhaps, not fewer than a million of our finest men; unless we are to lose another million by emigration (immediate or ultimate) we shall be forced to colonise our own land; the State alone can organise the undertaking. Those after-war workers who are at present unsatisfactorily housed (two-thirds of the whole, shall we say?) will shortly begin to insist upon homes that have more than three or four rooms and possess other space about them than a backyard; the State alone can re-house the population. The spectre of famine after the War begins to haunt the economists. “Already we can see,” says A. E. Zimmern, “that among the questions with which the Peace Congress will have to deal, will not only be the establishment of public right and the redrawing of the map of Europe, and the more urgent problem of how to provide food, clothing, and other necessities to the distressed peoples of Europe, a task which the existing economic system has not performed with conspicuous success in peace time, and is certainly not qualified to cope with in the unprecedented conditions of the immediate post-war period.” This consideration alone—not less than the requirements of demobilisation—renders unavoidable the continuance of State control over shipping, railways, and all other communications, as well as over agriculture and certain manufactures.

The fact is that the state of trade after the War will depend in the main upon the way that the Government of the time handles the land, the capital, the brain-power, and the manual labour force of the community. There will be no lack of demand! The community urgently requires foodstuffs, clothes, houses, roads, vehicles, schools, libraries, etc., etc.

But in order that these demands may be rendered effectual, it is necessary for the State to organise them and itself to control and undertake the supply. Given wise State action, including the public administration in the public interest of agriculture, building, communication, supply of power, light, heat, etc., and the "re-construction" of the health, capacity, and spiritual vigour of the population; we can speedily recover from the War; save ourselves from the long years of fearful trade depression following immediately or not remotely upon the War, predicted for us by most of the economists; and make this country far richer in the twentieth century than it was in the nineteenth, both in those shadows called material possessions and in those substantial things called intellect and character.

4. RECONSTRUCTION.

"In sixteen hundred and sixty-six," when, as we were told in the nursery, the fire went out for want of sticks, London had a rare opportunity. For four days the flames had been destroying the squalor as well as the splendour of the past. It happened that one of the greatest architects produced by our nation was alive and in the full vigour of his powers. Sir Christopher Wren seized the moment, and in a few days he drew up a scheme of rebuilding London which would have given to the Capital an atmosphere of space and design. If his plan had been accepted, St. Paul's would not have been hidden behind narrow and crooked streets. It would have stood out as a Greek temple stands out, so that the eye of traveller or citizen, whether on the river or on land, would run easily and naturally over its great outline, with nothing to break the spell of the perspective. For the street leading up Ludgate Hill was widened as it approached St. Paul's, dividing itself into two great avenues, one on either side of the cathedral. The great features of the city, cathedral, public offices, city, were all given a setting that would display their beauty and importance. All London was to be built with wide streets, smoke

was to be banished, the churchyards were to be planted and adorned, and the imagination of every Briton was to be excited and enriched by the noble dignity of his home.

Unhappily for us, and for all who have lived since that catastrophe, Sir Christopher Wren's dream seemed too ambitious to the Government of the day. The rights of property, the claims of economy, the urgent need of re-housing the population of London before the winter, all these were pressed on the Court, and Wren's plan was rejected. So, though we may love London as well as Morris loved her (he used to say that her soot had been rubbed into him), we love her in spite of disfigurements, and the more we cherish her history, the more we lament that this great scheme still lies at Oxford, in the Library of All Souls, a picture of the London that might have been.

"The great fire of London lasted four days, and the great fire of Europe has already raged for more than three years. In which spirit are we going to reconstruct that part of Europe in which we live? Is it to be the spirit of Sir Christopher Wren, or the spirit of the Government of Charles II. Are we going to remake our world in a spirit of faith and hope and daring, or are we going to put the links of an old world back again and restore the conventions of the past?" ("Jason": "Past and Future.")

The natural manner in which the questions that conclude this arresting passage are propounded suggests that "we" can decide the plan of Reconstruction in some such private and arbitrary way as Charles II. and his advisers settled the architectural fate of London. Now the background of all useful thinking about Reconstruction must be the knowledge that the "we" of the books written by middle-class writers for middle-class readers are not the individuals who will be mainly responsible for shaping events. "They" will be the ones to do it: and by "they," I mean the people of England. The future of London was decided "from above"; the future of England and of the world will be decided "from below."

The men who are now in the trenches have been called upon to relinquish all that they loved in order to fight—so they have been constantly told—for honour and freedom; hour after hour, day after day, month after month, they have been compelled to face death for the ideals of civilisation; year after year they have been “mixing up together,” and, in their own way, thinking and talking. The miner or the factory hand, or railwayman or clerk, who has had these tremendous experiences cannot but be radically changed by them. He may not be more aesthetic or intellectual or moral. But he is assuredly more detached from the old order of things; less willing—or, indeed, able—to accept the pre-war circle of ideas and customs; more revolutionary (to give it a name) in his outlook and behaviour. Every advertisement hoarding has impressed upon him that he and his comrades have been “saving England.” Are they not, perhaps, making up their minds to have the England they have saved?

From the workers at home—for the same ideals—sacrifices scarcely less overwhelming have been demanded. I am not thinking of the abandonment of Trade Union customs and regulations, nor of the virtual industrial conscription which has been enforced on them, but of the forsaken mothers and fathers, the wives and sweethearts, the daughters and sons. Three working-class homes out of four have given up one or more of their menfolk. Their own sacrifices, as well as their blood-relationship with the working men soldiers, fill the hearts of the mass of the people at home with new ideas about life. When the War is over, these energies will be released.

Prior to the War, as the reader can prove by reference to the sections of this pamphlet written before July, 1914, the workers were becoming alarmingly restive. Does it need demonstration that after the War they will be “revolutionary”? Recollecting that more than three-quarters of the men in khaki, and four-fifths of the new electorate are “the common people,” we can to some extent measure the forces we shall have to reckon with. *We cannot reconstruct*

England in the spirit of the Government of Charles II. If we reject the plan of Sir Christopher Wren, we shall not reconstruct at all.

At present, we have not rejected the plans of Sir Christopher Wren, but on the other hand we have not yet accepted them. In the Official "Peace-book" (so furtively prepared that it seems more like a plot than a plan) there would appear to be little awareness of the new outlook. Our longings rise above mere devices for Demobilisation, and dodges for doing the Germans out of their trade. We seek a national programme commensurate with the scale and sacrifice of the War. Such a plan, however—let us be fair to the politicians and administrators—cannot be constructed at Downing Street or Whitehall. It must come from the hearts and minds of the people themselves. The England and the world of our dreams can arise only from the planning and building of men and women who are breathing a new atmosphere. There must be in every one of us an instinct of fellowship, a sense of equality, an eagerness for service, a resolve to reconstruct. In no other way can we assimilate and render constructive the revolutionary elements the War is setting free. In no other spirit can the future be faced without fear.

In the Yorkshire District of the Y.M.C.A. there is being founded a Fellowship of those who pledge themselves "to work through the Y.M.C.A. movement for such Reconstruction of their own country and of the world as will effect the establishment upon earth of the kingdom of God."

By way of amplification, it is stated that: "The Fellowship makes no attempt to dictate to its members the details of a programme of Reconstruction; on the contrary, it insists that upon every member lies the responsibility of independent thought upon each particular problem. The function of the Fellowship is to inspire its members with a vision of the Kingdom of God. The duty of the individual member is to speed the coming of that Kingdom in the way that commends itself to the Spirit of Truth within him.

"None of us can forecast how men and women will

live in whatever Utopia lies beyond the War and beyond the sequent years of recovery; but we all recognise as axioms of the soul certain great principles by which Reconstruction must be governed in order that it may effect the ends we seek. The life of the community must be drawn from the self-sacrifice and the co-operation of all the human beings that compose it; in every political, economic and social arrangement, the public interest must overrule the private; the material and the spiritual resources of the nation must be utilised for the common good. Society should lavish upon all its immature members an education sufficient to equip them for living out the very best that is in them. For every family a beautiful home-life should be made possible. Insisting—where necessary—by educational methods, the community must require from everyone of its adult members an adequate share of the socially necessary toil, but it must give them conditions as pleasant as nature will allow amid which to labour and secure to them ample leisure for activities chosen by themselves. The teachings of Christianity must be applied to every phase of Reconstruction. There would thus gradually result a substantial equality in material things and social status as well as the fullest practicable freedom for self-expression. In such a community, men and women, physically beautiful, highly cultured, self-controlled and socially-minded, might hope to live what Jesus Christ magnificently termed 'the life that is life indeed.'

"The extent to which each nation can thus re-make itself will be closely conditioned by the international arrangements in which it becomes involved. The Fellowship insists that the Reconstruction of the World shall be based upon the same fundamental principles which it desires to see applied to National Reconstruction."

The founders of this Fellowship see clearly that if the Y.M.C.A. is to continue to command respect when the War is over, it must throw itself without reserve into the gathering movement for Reconstruction.

Their plan, apparently, is to animate the Association with their own ideals by founding an esoteric "Order of Service," consisting of men and women who will ignore their class-distinctions and theological differences in a common aspiration to give practical effect in the world after the War to the Sermon on the Mount.

The potentialities of the principle involved in this project are beyond calculation. While we are engrossed in our schemes of co-operation between church and chapel, capital and labour, movement and movement, nation and nation, we forget that co-operation can be effective only so far as there is spiritual unity between those required to co-operate. The War has taught us that the basis of such a unity must henceforward be the simple desire to "work for such a Reconstruction of (our) own country and of the world as will effect the establishment on earth of the Kingdom of God." We must all of us cease recalling the particular circumstances in the past which led to the establishment of our chosen religious or educational or political organisation, and consider solely the best ways of adapting it for the making of the future.

It is incumbent upon the thoughtful and active men and women in every institution and movement to adopt this prophetic point of view, planning and proclaiming the coming of a social order based upon the purest ethical principles known to man. And it is essential that all those who desire thus to revolutionise things should link themselves together. By such methods and by no others can the desired unity and co-operation be achieved.

If the founders of the Fellowship can discover ways of broadening its scope so that it could include *all* (whether in the Y.M.C.A. movement or not) who desire to give their lives to their country, they might set going a movement powerful enough to control the destinies of England. Internationalised, such a Fellowship might safeguard the peace of the world.

5. ADULT EDUCATION.

Referring to the enfranchisement effected by the Reform Act of 1867, Walter Bagehot avowed: "I am exceedingly afraid of the ignorant multitude of the new constituencies." After the War—far more effectually than in 1867—the mass of the people will be taking power into their own hands. I confess that the words of Bagehot come often into my mind.

These fears are not based upon any *à priori* generalisations, still less upon any desire that the workers should be excluded from political and industrial responsibility. I base them upon the results of an elaborate private enquiry into the "Educational Equipment of the Adult Manual Workers of Sheffield," in which I have been permitted to take a small part. That investigation reveals that only about one-fourth of the men workers, and of the women workers fewer still, are actively interested and well informed upon political, industrial and social questions.* If these results are roughly applicable to the whole of the four-fifths of the workers living in large towns—as they are—the fact stands out that a majority of the workers of England have not yet had the opportunity to receive the education necessary to enable them to undertake their due civic responsibilities. Not only the old men and women of 60 and 70, but the mass of middle-aged workers, and, most shameful of all, those also who are only 25 or 20 or 18 have been given by the community a schooling altogether inadequate for "the work of life." The War has not made these men and women any more capable of "fundamental brain-work," nor instructed them in economics or political science, nor rendered them less ignorant of Shakespeare or less indifferent to the Bible. But it has made them determined in future to play an active and not a passive part in affairs. In the coming Peace, when these imperfectly

*The full results of this enquiry, with a Preface by the Minister for Education, will be published during the autumn of the present year under the title "The Equipment of the Workers" (Allen and Unwin). It will then be shown precisely what is meant by being "actively interested and well informed."

educated men and women begin to take things into their own hands, the community may have to pay the price for its failure to educate the mass of its members. Catastrophe can be avoided only by a genuine Reconstruction of the national life, and more especially by far-reaching schemes of adult education which shall attempt to give the whole people in their maturity something of the power of thought and the knowledge of affairs which we have failed to give them in their childhood and adolescence. To educate the mass of the community is the basic problem of Reconstruction.

And yet, when we come to reflect on the matter, we find an almost complete ignorance of the nature and dimensions of the problem, and of the methods we are to adopt in our solutions of it. Content with the platitudes that "The workers won't come to Church," or "Won't turn up at meetings," or "Don't want education," we have not even begun to accumulate the knowledge and experience that alone can enable us to grapple hopefully with our difficulties. Our Professors of Education have been busy with strictly academic subjects!

The problem is obviously not that of reaching the minority who are already intelligently aware of their relation to the State, but of reaching the majority who have hitherto scarcely been touched by educational and elevating agencies.* Those of the majority do not attend church services or evening classes or popular lectures; they cannot be brought to read serious books, scarcely even the serious parts of the newspapers. The Y.M.C.A., it is true, has come into close contact with all sections of workers, but, so far, rather with their bodies than with their minds and souls. By what undiscovered methods are we to affect constructively the wills and intellects of this newly-born race of men and women of whom we have suddenly become aware?

It seems to me plain that in order to achieve our

*Those of us who are enthusiasts for the W.E.A., will gain nothing by a pretence that we are influencing the mass of the workers. We have not, so far, penetrated deeper than the thin uppermost intellectual stratum of the manual-working people.

ends (nothing else matters !) we shall have to conceive of the educational process as operating in all sorts of irregular ways. Whatever enriches the spirit of a man is education. And it may very well be that the devices by which we must now educate the workers will be as different from those we have so far employed with the interested few, as Mme. Montessori's methods are from those of a Victorian infant school. I see opportunities in the Kinema. Why should not the President of the Board of Education insist that films officially registered as " educational " should form at least one half of every moving picture performance? There are hopes of State public-houses (with University men and women as publicans), obscuring drink, but emphasising social intercourse, music and books. There are possibilities of reaching the stay-at-homes by peripatetic librarians going with periodicals, pamphlets and books from door to door, helping and persuading people to read. If there were twice as many of them, teachers could be required, as part of their paid duty, to visit the houses from which come the children under their charge, thus, through the child, arousing and educating every parent. And is there hope or is there no hope of the Churches modernising their message and their methods, so that without any sacrifice of spiritual dignity they may become accessible to the workers whom, both before and during the War, they have failed to touch?

These are tentative suggestions—groupings after practicable proposals—mere indications of the need for thought, enquiry and experiment. If we are to do what is necessary, we shall have to expend plenty of money and plenty of first-rate brain power. We must have far-reaching schemes, financed and loosely organised perhaps by the Board of Education, but making the fullest possible use of all voluntary organisations desiring to co-operate in genuinely educational work.

And among the men at the front during demobilisation we must make our maximum effort.

6. NON-ADULT EDUCATION.

Not the least cogent argument for adult education is that it will result in convincing the workers of Lancashire and the rest of England that they must demand adequate education for their children. Ultimately we must look to the schools. The League of Nations will not be a lasting unification of the world; Reconstruction will not be a continuous evolution towards the ideal State, unless in the schools we deliberately manufacture a spirit of goodwill to other democracies and a spirit of service to one another.

The Education Act of 1918 is only a beginning. We must now set ourselves to achieve further developments, much more liberal in scope and much more constructive in character. On the "form-side" it is easy enough to see what these should be—not eight hours a week from 14 to 18, but eight hours a day from 14 to 21; not paltry increases of salary, but conditions of employment so attractive as to make the teaching profession desirable even in a material sense to the finest men and women, and so on. But far more imperatively do we need reforms in what is called the "life-side" of education. The underlying defect of elementary schooling is that it has no spiritual purpose and stands unrelated to the developing civilisation of the world. Education should enable the child to realise his oneness with mighty forces actively at work to enrich the life of humanity; it should release the child's spiritual energies by psychologically appropriate appeals to his sense of wonder, of beauty and of idealism; it should fill his heart with longing to serve his own country, in order that in its turn it may ennoble the commonwealth of nations. The schools at present are not even aiming at such ends; nor through the present method and curriculum can such culture be transmitted.

I invite those who deplore this lack of the spiritual in English schools to consider the scheme elaborated by Dr. F. H. Hayward for supplying the defect.*

*See "The Spiritual Foundations of Reconstruction: a Plea for New Methods in Education," by Dr. F. H. Hayward and Arnold Freeman (P. S. King and Son).

The author urges that there should be compiled a national school liturgy consisting of the noblest passages, sacred and secular, from our own and other literature, and selected very largely, of course, from the Bible; of pieces of the finest music the world has produced; and of certain ceremonial features. This liturgy would be utilised for the assembled school at the opening of every school day. Morning by morning, the child would hear the most helpful passages from the Bible impressively read; he would listen daily to beautiful poetry and prose; he would be familiarised with many hundreds of elevating pieces of music; once a week, perhaps, he would take part in some act of ceremonial or pageantry in honour of a great man or of a great idea (Shakespeare Day, Empire Day, and, in Welsh Schools, St. David's Day, are already annual celebrations).

In order to encourage children to assist wisely in the building up of England, we need further celebrations for such things as Freedom, Science, Equality, Agriculture, Art, Labour, Democracy, Motherhood, Co-operation. In order to bind together (more effectively than by treaties) the broken family of man, we require International Days, for those nations that are trusted and esteemed, for the great heroes of humanity, and, of course, for the League of Nations itself. It is not possible in this pamphlet—which deals only subordinately with education—to elucidate Dr. Hayward's proposals in detail. But I trust my outline will suffice to show that they contain elements which it is essential to introduce into our schools, and thereby into our national life, if we are to look back upon the age of Reconstruction with a pride less sullied than we can feel concerning the epoch which has been abruptly (and perhaps providentially) brought to an end by the War.

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